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ART. I.—DISUNION WITHIN THE UNION.

[We confess no particular admiration of this "*Disunion within the Union*," of which Mr. Fitzhugh speaks, and of which the Harper's Ferry affair is a necessary type. We better like *disunion out of it*, when the issue comes.—Ed.]

THE Harper's Ferry affair, with its extensive Northern ramifications, gives a new interest to the question of disunion. The most conservative must see, and if honest will admit, that the settlement of Northerners among us is fraught with danger. Not one in twenty of such settlers might tamper with our slaves and incite to insurrection, but one man can fire a magazine, and no one can foresee where the match will be applied, or what will be the extent and consequences of the explosion. Our wives and our daughters will see in every new Yankee face an abolition missionary. We, the men of the South, may feel for their fears, and go about to remove the cause that excites them, without being amenable to the charge of cowardice or of over-cautionsness.

The border States are the exposed frontier. Into them the underground railroad insinuates its emissaries, who steal a part of our slaves and poison the minds of the balance. Under the simple guise of the innocent farmer, Mr. Thayer may settle colonies among us as big with danger as the Greco-Trojan horse. Half the lands in these border States are without labor to cultivate them. At the present prices of negroes these lands must remain uncultivated, unless white labor, which is much cheaper, is introduced into those border States. If introduced,

it will gradually expel and drive to the South the negroes and their masters by its superior economy, or emancipate the negroes by the ballot-box or servile insurrection. We do not mean to say that Mr. Thayer is an *incendiary* abolitionist; far from it. He is a man of excellent sense, cool, judicious, deliberate, and calculating. He is no silly, speculative socialist, no empty rhetorician, like Sumner and Seward, nor blood-thirsty beast, like Brown and Leeman. He simply proposes to introduce *white slave labor* instead of black slave labor. He, *we know*, fully comprehends the relations and the philosophy of capital and labor. He knows that if capital emigrates ahead of labor, or if capital and labor emigrate together, the owners of the capital become the masters of the laborers, in all save the obligation to provide for them, when unfit for work. Poor Sumner is so weak as not to see that the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts is merely a white slave trade company, and hence, unconsciously lauds the white slave trade with the same breath that he abuses the negro slave trade. Unless we can arrest this white slave trade of Mr. Thayer, the border States will become the property of New-England.

To effect this, two measures are necessary. The one, State legislation that shall require all New-England emigrants to give security for their good behavior. The other, the renewal of the African slave-trade, to fill up that vacuum in our population which will be filled up by abolitionists if not by negroes. The Constitution of the United States stands in the way of neither measure. It is wonderfully comprehensive and elastic, and gives an adaptability and plasticity to our institutions which constitute their chief merit.

New-Englanders coming to the South, according to the most rigid construction of the common law, are, *quoad nos*, persons of *ill favor*, suspicious persons (far more so than idle eaves-droppers), who may and should be required to give security for their good behavior.

The law of Congress prohibiting the slave-trade is palpably unconstitutional. Congress has no other powers than those conferred by the Constitution, and no two men agree as to the clause conferring the power to abolish the slave trade. The most plausible suggestion is, that the power is included in the right to regulate commerce. But this suggestion is rendered flagrantly absurd when we discover that to sustain it, white emigrants must be treated and considered as mere articles of commerce. The Constitution suspends the power to prohibit the "importation" or *immigration* of persons until 1808.

Congress possesses the same power to declare and punish white immigration as piracy that it has to so punish the African slave-trade. These are but two, out of hundreds of measures, by which the South may attain all the ends sought for by disunion, while remaining in the Union.

Each State for itself may pass laws entirely prohibiting all trade or intercourse between its citizens and the citizens of one or more of the Northern States. Each Southern State may enact that all "Yankee notions," goods, wares, and merchandise, shall be forfeited *when brought South*, as fully and completely as negro slaves are when carried *North*. White Yankees are more dangerous to our peace than English or Northern free negroes; and South Carolina has established the right to prohibit the introduction of the latter. Under the law of nations, we may, and should, exclude people whose general character is that of hostility to our institutions. It is an inalienable right, for it is the right of self-defence and self preservation.

But we would begin with nothing harsh, nothing unnecessarily offensive to the North, or to any State in the North—with no measure of even doubtful constitutionality, that might, by possibility, bring us in collision with federal authorities. Let Virginia, which is the most exposed State, charge a heavy license on the sale of all goods from Massachusetts, as she has already done, on her pedlars, showmen, and clock-venders. If this does not suffice to bring the Bay State to fair and friendly terms, then let Virginia punish by fine and imprisonment all of *her own citizens* who associate with Massachusetts men, or employ Massachusetts vessels, or sell grain to Massachusetts, or buy articles of any kind grown or manufactured in that State. No federal authority can intervene between Virginia and her own citizens, and thus a complete disunion from Massachusetts may be peacefully and constitutionally effected, without imperilling the Federal Union.

Each Southern State, fighting its own battle of legislative retaliation, against such one or more of the Northern States, as it deemed most inimical and dangerous, would prevent the quarrel assuming a purely sectional character, while it would divide the North.

It is impossible, by a Southern Convention, or by any other means whatever, to unite the South on measures of retaliation—madness to expect to unite her on measures of disunion.

Disunion would have different effects on different Southern States. Some would be immediately exposed to war and inva-

sion, and would, therefore, be more cautious and dilatory in invoking disunion. Besides, although all political parties at the South are true on the slavery question, yet they differ as to measures, and the ascendancy of different parties in the several States would prevent agreement on this vital subject. This diversity of opinion in the South, this want of union as to the means of redress, while there is thorough union of sentiment and feeling on the slavery subject, and on the wrongs inflicted upon us by the abolitionists, is fortunate for us—for union of the South would beget union of the North, estrange our thousands of warm and true friends in that region, and beget a purely sectional dispute, with the larger section arrayed against us and our institutions. "Let us divide and conquer." We can only do so, by urging each Southern State to adopt measures of defence and retaliation for itself, and not to involve in one common denunciation and exclusion, our friends and enemies at the North. Let us be bold and fearless, but, at the same time, just, cautious, and prudent. If we will court the alliance of the conservatives of the North, while we denounce and punish her destructives, abolitionism will find itself in a very small minority. A contrary course will alienate our Northern friends, and beget a false sectional issue, in which we shall be the weaker party, and a party divided among ourselves.

We say a *false* issue, because this is no dispute between Northerners and Southerners; but between conservatives and revolutionionists; between Christians and infidels; between law and order men and no-government men; between the friends of private property and socialists and agrarians; between the chaste and the libidinous; between marriage and free-love; between those who believe in the past, in history, in human experience, in the Bible, in human nature, and those who, like Greeley, and Fourier, and Fanny Wright, and Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine, and Seward, foolishly, rashly, and profanely, attempt to "expel human nature," to bring about a millennium, and inaugurate a future wholly unlike anything that has preceded it. The great Christian and conservative party throughout the world is now with us. If we scorn and repudiate their alliance, if we arrogantly set up for ourselves, we thereby admit and assert that our cause and our institutions are at war with the common, moral, and religious notions of mankind. Let us rather prove to the virtuous, the religious, and conservative, that our cause is their cause, our institutions those which God has ordained, and human experi-

ence ratified and confirmed ; and that to war against us, is to incite the socialists to war against everything sacred, valuable, or venerable in free society. Let us show them that every abolitionist of distinction is an agrarian, infidel, no-government man, a free-love man—more dangerous at home than to us.

We shall not offend our friends in Massachusetts by legislation directed at the party now in the ascendant. Never were a baser set of wretches in possession of power, than those who have ruled and rioted in that State ever since the time of the Hiss legislature ; and yet, no State possesses so many men eminently fitted to rule. The creatures born with saddles on their backs, have thrown their riders. The dogs have escaped from the kennel. But horses and dogs need masters—they cannot long live without them. The present governing class in Massachusetts are naturally the lower layer of society. They are incapable of fulfilling, for any length of time, any other offices than those belonging to that lower layer. They will soon subside into their proper position ; and be glad to get gentlemen, and conservatives, and scholars, and Christians, to rule over them, while they “ hew the wood and draw the water.”

These outbreaks of society, in which the “ meanest get uppermost,” will occasionally occur. But in the long run virtue governs vice, intelligence governs ignorance, religion controls infidelity. Let us of the South be patient, and wait for that process of subsidence and stratification in Northern society, which will be sure to put our friends uppermost ; for it is as natural for *them* to ride, as it is for the *masses* to be ridden. He who denies that God made the multitude to be directed, governed, and controlled by the few, and that this common multitude is happier, more virtuous, and prosperous, when governed, than when governing, quarrels with the course of nature, and disputes the wisdom and beneficence of Deity. Universal suffrage may put society wrong-side up, but nature is all-powerful, and soon brings down the lower layer, or stratum, to its true place.

We, of the South, take too narrow a view of the slavery subject. Opinion in favor of slavery is advancing, the world over ; but that opinion is but part of the great conservative reaction in politics, in law, in morals, and in religion, that has set in, and is steadily progressing everywhere. It is the *rolling back of the reformation* ! Of reformation run mad. It ran mad even in the days of Elizabeth, with the Puritans and Independents, the ancestors of our Yankee abolitionists. In Cromwell's day, all England, for a while, became demented.

After making Western Europe the scene of fratricidal war for ages, it culminated (in its political phasis) in France, and burst forth in frequent revolutions, whose recurrence is still matter of every day's apprehension. We quarrel not with the reformation of Luther and Calvin, but with "the right of private judgment" engrafted on it by infidels and fanatics. It has begotten socialism, infidelity, agrarianism, abolitionism, and radicalism of every hue and shade. Finally, the conservatives have been roused into action. In religion, the admiration generally expressed for the Catholic church as a political institution, and the daily adoption of more of form, of rule and ceremony, by the orthodox Protestant Trinitarian churches, is a most important point, and symptoms of a salutary reaction.

The open ridicule and denunciation of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, and of the doctrine of human equality, which we hear men indulging in every day, is another healthful conservative sign of the times. But most conclusive of all, is the evidence afforded by the change of opinion and of action on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade, in France and England. The emperor of France and the *London Times* newspaper are the most influential political institutions in Christendom; the best exponents of public opinion, for they always have either the sagacity to detect and follow it, or the power to foresee and control it. They are both advocates of slavery and the slave-trade. The statesmen, the press, the practical men, nay, the governments of England and France, regret the error of West India emancipation, and are busy retrieving that error, by importing or encouraging the importation of hundreds of thousands of coolies and African slaves—slaves in all save the name. This reaction on the slavery subject cannot stop here. Negro slaves, coolies, or apprentices, will be brought to every corner of Christendom, where their labor is profitable.

Shall we cut ourselves off from this great reaction in religion, law, morals, politics, and social organization, go into voluntary exile, dissolve the Union, place ourselves under the ban of public opinion; or, shall we lead the reaction, govern the Union, and use it as a means to secure our rights and punish abolition, and to exalt our long-tried, true, and faithful friends at the North into their true position of governors instead of governed? If the South be true to herself, if she have one tittle of self-appreciation, if she can possibly be made to comprehend her own position, the post of honor is hers, and she will become the pattern, the exemplar, the leader of Christendom. She,

alone, has retained that great institution, which philosophy and history, God and nature, proclaim to be necessary to man's well-being. She, alone, has made adequate provision for the laboring man. She, alone, has a contented, moral, religious society, undisturbed by infidelity, socialism, riots, revolutions, and famine. She, alone, can say to the world, we present the model which you must imitate in reforming your institutions.

"Disunion within the Union," no intercourse or trade with any Northern State in which our slave property is not as much respected by law and by practice as any other property, will lead at once to a direct trade from Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New-Orleans, with Europe; will encourage, promote, and build up, Southern commerce, manufactures, agriculture, education, &c., and will, while it enriches and enlightens us, make us independent. It will bring the abolitionists of the North to terms, for they cannot live without our trade, without slave products, and a slaveholding market for their commerce and manufactures.

It will put the abolitionists down, and place the conservatives, our long-tried friends, in power. The Union is *ours* if we choose to use it, and, hence, the abolitionists denounce it.

ART. II.—THE BASIS OF NORTHERN HOSTILITY TO THE SOUTH.

Though kindred in blood, the conduct of the Northern States to us has ever been that of deadly enemies, whose hatred no circumstance of time, place, or even interest, could soften. For half a century they have pursued toward the Southern States a systematic course of constantly increasing wrong, injustice, and oppression, and have injured and insulted us to a degree that is hard to be forgiven. A portion of the people in this Northern section is seeking to abolish slavery in the States where it now exists, and to turn the slaves loose upon us, upon terms of social and political equality; a larger portion, indeed, nearly all the rest, is seeking the same end, but by a more indirect route—proposing to prevent its further extension, denying it protection in the common territories, and confining it to its present bounds, at all hazards and under all circumstances.

Where the settled antagonism, that undeniably exists between the people of the Northern and Southern States had its origin, may be somewhat doubtful; but there can be no doubt that active anti-slaveryism is a weed of *late*, though rapid and rank, vegetation. The immediate proximate cause of Northern hatred for the South is Envy; but it is probable that the so-

cial antagonism—the “irrepressible conflict”—of the two sections is hereditary, and that the attack on the institution of Slavery is only a kind of adventitious opportunity eagerly caught up for this antagonism to develop itself. It is very certain that the number of people in the world who honestly and deliberately, from principle, oppose negro-slavery, is very small; and, therefore, such opposition cannot be the cause of this social antagonism, but only a sort of adventitious effect. We do not say that there are but few opposers of negro-slavery in the world—but, that it has few honest and enlightened opposers from principle; and this is made still more evident by the fact that in the Southern States, even among those who never did, and, probably, never will, own a slave, where the practical workings of the institution are felt and seen, the conviction of its justice, morality, and utility, is universal. There is not a New-England senator or politician, and very few women, (!) that really care anything about negro-slavery, that know anything about its character, or that are really exercised in spirit, because of any sin attaching to us for holding negroes in bondage. Nothing of the kind. They envy and hate us, and have seized upon the fact of slavery in the South, as a salient or weak point through which to attack us. We are convinced that, if negro-slavery were entirely removed from our midst, this New-England hatred and envy of the South would hardly even be checked for a time, certainly not dissipated, and would seek and soon find some other opportunity for development. So we believe that if the climate and soil of New-England (peopled as it is now), were such as to render negro-slavery profitable, the institution would have remained there in full force, and never an anti-slavery sentiment would have been breathed in all the western hemisphere; and, yet, New-England hatred of us would have found vent in some way, stimulated, most probably, to an earlier development by the fact of a rivalry of interest which does not now exist. Whence then originated this settled antagonism—this “irrepressible conflict”? We leave the certain solution of the difficulty to those who have more time to examine the various phases of human nature, and to investigate the secret springs of its action. It does not arise from any rivalry of interests, for none such exists—on the contrary, it is vitally the interest of the Northern States to *continue* negro-slavery in the South. We think—though it is suggested as a mere individual opinion—that this antagonism originated, at least, begun to act, in the revolution which temporarily changed the face of Great Britain something

more than two hundred years ago. The cavaliers and puritans of that age were undoubtedly the ancestors, and, to a great extent, the *prototypes* of this.* That the puritan was unfit for rational freedom, civil or religious, was sufficiently proved by the wild extremity of his principles going to the subversion of all society; by the fierce fanatic intolerance of his opinions; and by the short duration of his power when attained; that the Northern Yankee now is unfit for rational liberty, civil or religious, is even yet more abundantly verified in the still wilder extremes of his social, moral, and political heresies, tending to a yet more complete subversion of society and overthrow of the moral government of God. The puritan hatred of the cavaliers was deep and bitter, but neither deeper nor more bitter than that of the mass of the Northern, for the people of the Southern States, especially that portion of the North known as New-England.

The cavaliers had many human failings; they were, indeed, of the earth, earthy; they fought, they drank, they swore, and they loved, as better men will neither fight, nor drink, nor swear, nor love—but they made no pretence to unusual sanctity, and they were a gallant, high-spirited, chivalrous, and generous race, of the pure Anglo-Saxon blood; and to this day their descendants compose the only really free portion of the English people. They were brave, honorable, social; loyal to their king, and loyal to the church. Knowing that earth could not be made a paradise, they did not, therefore, seek to turn the fair footstool of God into a gloomy hell. Failings they had, but dishonor, sordid meanness, and mammon worship, they knew not; and they served their king and their church, with a loyal devotion that history has seldom paralleled. Their intellectual development was then not surpassed in Europe, and their moral culture was at least equal to that of their age. The puritan side of the picture was a revolting contrast. All was moral deformity and hideous gloom. The English puritans proper were among the very worst developments of human nature—excelled by the French Jacobins only, in the extent of power achieved, and in rapidity and energy of action. The puritan revolution was a politico-religious fanaticism, that of the Jacobins, anti-religious; but extremes meet, and these

* The reader will bear in mind that there were two revolutions in England in the 17th century, very different in their characters, actors, and objects; and that it is of the *first* of these—that of 1640—we are here speaking. The revolution of 1688 was widely different—its actors were the sensible and thinking classes, and its object to limit the royal power, and to create rational freedom—not to overthrow all government, and establish a crazy, gloomy, and intolerant anarchy.

were not far asunder. Misanthropy, hypocrisy, diseased philanthropy, envy, hatred, fanaticism, and all the worst passions of the human heart, were the ruling characteristics of the English puritans; and they continue to be the ruling characteristics of New-England Yankees, with the difference, that these have passed from the religious to the anti-religious extreme, and are now as much a people of infidels, as the French of 1793. Many of the puritans were hypocrites, who, to glut their hatred and envy of all who were nobler and better than they, assumed and desecrated the name of religion; part were misanthropes, who, under the cover of religious fanaticism, sought to wreak their hatred of humanity; part were avowed deists, who were probably the most *legitimate* of all; and part, as the fifth monarchy men, were probably honest fanatics, who, in the distracted ravings of disordered brains, saw in themselves the beginning of the millennial reign of the gentle Saviour; and sought to bring all the world under their gloomy and intolerent fanaticism.

Professed followers of the loving and peaceful Saviour, almost at the altar's foot they slew the sainted archbishop; shouting the same psalms written to the praise of God, they butchered a beef or slaughtered a bishop; mouthing the same texts of the Holy Scriptures, they would commit every crime, and attend the professed worship of God; and repeating, "Peace on earth, good will toward men," in cold blood they murdered their gentle king. With them, every command and prohibition of the decalogue might be violated with impunity, *by themselves*, but not all the tremendous sacrifice of the Incarnate God could save the man who had worn a surplice, used a ring in marriage, or bowed at the name of Jesus; not all the blood of the Lamb could wash the guilt from his soul.

The Southern States were settled almost entirely from the better and more enlightened classes of Great Britain and France. The people of New-England are lineal descendants of the English puritans; and the other Northern States, especially Ohio, are settled in great part from New-England. In our descent, we, of the South, have advanced rapidly on the intellectual, moral, and social development of our ancestors; perfecting the great work they began in 1688, establishing a free, representative, and constitutional republic, with an open Bible, and with the noblest, most cultivated and enlightened, and most Christian social system that has ever existed. In their descent, the "Yankees" have inherited, with interest, all the characteristics of their puritan ancestors. The same

hatred and envy of all who may be their superiors by nature or circumstances influence their conduct toward the Southern States. They hate us, because their fathers hated ours; they envy us, because we are happy in our society, and have slaves, denied to them by the coldness of their climate and sterility of their soil; and they are seeking to deprive us of our social system, apparently for no other reason, than that a similar is unattainable by them. The same fanaticism that impelled their ancestors is urging them; but, as has been said, it has passed from the religious to the anti-religious extreme. The Bible sanctions, and does not forbid, Hametic slavery, and we have taken advantage of the sanction thus given, and, therefore, they howl from their pulpits and hustings, "We will have no slavery God, no slavery Bible." Christ recognized the relation of master and slave, and did not forbid it, and, therefore, they yell at us, "Christ is not divine; we acknowledge no triune God!" The same false and diseased philanthropy which, infidel and accursed, imagines depraved or impossible conditions for humanity, and straightway would reduce all the world to its unholy level, marks their moral and political history. Socially wretched, and fast running to anarchy, politically and morally *ism*-ridden, they reckon no God but mammon, and with more than Eastern devotion, they worship at his shrine.

The Northern are by courtesy called the "free States;" but, in reality, the only true, civil, or religious freedom that now lives in the world, is to be found in the Southern slaveholding States. Nor will this appear at all paradoxical, when human nature in general, and our slave system in particular, are closely examined. All experience proves that some system of slavery is essential to the permanency of a really free government; and we want no better proof of this, than the Northern States themselves; as witness the extravagant and licentious anarchy into which their unbridled career of unchecked passions is hurrying them; and anarchy, all the wide world over, has ever been the sure precursor of despotism. And these Northern people are they who coolly arrogate to themselves the highest social, moral, and mental development; who coolly tell us, that we are *dependent* on them for manufacture and transportation! Hitherto, we have been satisfied with using them as our manufacturing and carrying hirelings, simply, because we found it more *convenient* to do so; but they have become much too arrogant and troublesome, and they, themselves, are forcing us to *dismiss* them, at the cost of their own ruin. So far from our being depen-

dent upon them, we are their masters, and they are dependent upon us for their daily bread. In a great measure their destiny is in our hands; and if we had been like them, we would long ago have withdrawn our support, and left them to beggary and starvation.

But it is in our intellectual, especially in our social and moral development, that we have risen infinitely above them. The people of the Southern States are, by nature eminently conservative, though steady and rationally progressive; and the very structure of our society, embodying, as it does, the divinely sanctioned enslavement of an inferior race, checks all that tendency to licentious anarchy so natural to enlarged freedom, and forces it within due bounds. Our social system is founded entirely on the revealed laws of God; the Bible is the source of all our law, as well social as civil; and hence reverence and worship of its divine and triune Author is more general among us than almost any other people. Entirely satisfied and happy in our Bible and society, we have no incentive, even were we naturally inclined, to run off into wild speculative theories not sanctioned by either that society or that Bible. Does our Bible teach us that God has cursed and enslaved the race of Ham for his own wise purposes, we do not, therefore, interpose our philanthropy and question the wisdom and justice of God. Does it teach us that God has sanctioned the temperate use of wine, we do not in its face declare that to be a sin, and seek to prohibit by our laws, what God has approved. Political and social equality among ourselves is all that we claim or expect in this world, and these we have to a degree absolutely unknown at the North, where the poor are really slaves and the rich are masters. Is one of us rich and the other poor, we do not therefore seek by some Fourierism to level all men, but strive to better our own lot without injuring our neighbors'. Do we see our neighbors of the North possessing more telegraphs and railroads than we, we do not therefore envy them, and begin immediately to speculate upon the morality and policy of railroads and telegraphs, nor do we straightway imagine ourselves the world's reformers and seek to abolish them. Does our Bible tell us to love God, and our neighbors as ourselves, we do not therefore resolve ourselves into a committee of reformation, and proceed to judge and reform all the world around us. Are we told to "love one another," we do not, therefore, abandon the marriage relation and form ourselves into societies where men and women mingle promiscuously, and "*free-love*" without check

or restraint. The honor of the female sex is dearer to us than money or life, and we guard the marriage relation as zealously as we guard our religion, of which, indeed, it is a part. There is no surer evidence of the great demoralization of Northern, especially New-England society, than the degradation to which the gentler sex is reduced. There is there no chivalrous devotion to the weak and helpless female, no generous and manly protection of her, but all is calculating, cold, and heartless, as the metal they worship. "Free-love" societies they have in abundance; but in them the only object is the gratification of brutal lust, and the complete degradation of both sexes to the brutal level. Not satisfied with their own power to control their women, they make appeals to the spirit world, and by cunningly-devised cheats and lying tales play upon the superstitions of the female mind, forcing her with pretended spiritual commands to pander to their lust.

We do not say that this state of things is universal, even in New-England, but what must be the state of that society which tolerates it at all? It is at least so general, that to save themselves from ruin, their women have been driven to demand civil and political, as well as social equality, with man. At all events, this is the only charitable solution of the problem of women's rights' conventions; and how deplorable must be the moral degradation of that society where woman is driven so entirely out of the sphere assigned her by God! If it be true, as has been said, that an irreligious astronomer is mad, what shall we say of an irreligious woman? and the prevalence of irreligion among New-England women is one of the worst features of their deeply-corrupted society. In New-England, Ohio, and many other parts of the North, the mother no longer carries her children to a place of worship to hear a crucified and risen Saviour preached, and to instil into their virgin minds the seeds of piety, virtue, and charity; but to teach them early and deadly hatred to their happier Southern neighbors—to hear politics ranted in the pulpit—to hear "free-loveism" commended, and to have the sickening, degrading sentimentalism of "abolitionism" instilled into their minds. With us of the South, the high mission and sphere of woman is heartily and earnestly recognized. Without a question we recognize the holiness of their moral and social mission, and protect them with our lives. We love woman because God has made her lovely; but we cherish and protect her because she is weak and gentle, and because she is the great moral agent that lifts us above the brute creation. It is ours to

guide and control the affairs of time, but it is hers to guide us, and lead us to heaven. With all this, then, our superiority, moral, mental and social, are we to submit forever to arrogance, insult, injury, and oppression, from a mere quixotic desire to preserve an always unnatural and now violated Union?

If there is no necessary sin in slavery at all, and especially if there be none in the enslavement of the Hametic or negro race, because such is the expressed purpose of God, as we have proved from the sacred oracles, then our system of slavery cannot be wrong or unjust; for even New-England senators will admit that ours is at once the mildest, and yet the firmest, the most enlightened and most Christian, that has ever been established.* We have asserted, and proven from the Bible, that the negro race is degraded to a naturally inferior and servile condition by the decree of Omnipotence, because of the guilt of its progenitor; that the race of Japhet, of which we are a part, is enlarged and made superior by the same decree; that the Deity, in all his revelations to man, has recognized and approved the relation of master and slave, of superior and inferior—thus existing by his own decree; that if the power and supremacy of God over all things be incontrovertible truth, then our right to ownership and property in the persons of the degraded race, is incontrovertible truth; and the morality and justice of our title are guaranteed by the infinite justice and morality of Jehovah. This being so, then the *means* by which we originally obtained possession (the title being already in us) to the ancestors of our present slave, become a matter of the very smallest moment.

Whatever inhumanity may have been practised a century or so ago, by British and New-England slave-traders, in getting possession of the savage Africans, is a matter that now deserves no consideration, if it ever did, for it would not and cannot divest our title. We obtained possession by purchase from the ancestors of these very men who are now so wildly beating up a crusade against all slaveholders. The negroes were "bought with our money" as Abraham's of old, and when we obtained possession, our title was complete in all the requirements of Blackstone for perfect title, viz.: the right of property, the right of possession, and the possession itself; and it

* This article, and one that appeared in the Review for October, are extracts from an unpublished Treatise on Slavery, the preceding half of which is devoted to Scripture proof of the Divine Ordination of negro inferiority and servitude. Other articles that may hereafter appear, will be from the same source. They will be published in no other form.

cannot be divested until the original decree, which created and vested the natural title in us, is revoked, and the curse removed from man and from the ground. No wrong in the mode of acquiring the possession could affect us because we did not commit that wrong; and even if we did, we had the right to the possession, which could not be affected by the personal wrong. Supposing the original mode of acquiring possession to have been cruel in the extreme, and a moral wrong to have been done by the barbarous treatment of the captive or purchased heathens—supposing the middle passage to have been all the hell that Northern imaginations delight to paint it, forgetting that their ancestors were the actors—still, it is no affair of *ours*. If any unnecessary cruelty there was, it was merely a wrong, personal to those who were brought here; and the sin, if sin there be, was personal to those who brought them here. The negroes bought or kidnapped from Africa and conveyed here, are all dead; those who brought them here are dead; and those who bought them after they came here are all dead. We might as well undertake to call up and reanimate the bones of the butchered Indians, and give them back their forest homes, where teeming millions of enlightened white men now dwell, in cities, in villages, and plains, surrounded by art and wealth, and Christian civilization—raze all the foundations thereof, and give this glorious land of promise, with all its bibles, its altars, and its freedom, to the savage Indian, the wolf, and the bear, that the idolater might return again to worship beasts, images, and trees, and practise his heathen abominations hateful to God. Admitting, for a single moment, that the enslavement of the negro race here is such a moral wrong, as “higher law” people say it is, does not make their case any the less hopeless; for the wrong has then become a general wrong and could only be partially atoned for now. It cannot be atoned for, acceptably, to the God of peace and love, by the people of one section slandering, robbing, and murdering the people of the other; or, by their sending armed bands to butcher them and stir up servile insurrection as was the case at Harper’s Ferry. One wrong cannot be righted by doing another. There is but one possible way, and even then the atonement could be but partial. Let the Northern States sell the millions of broad acres given by slave Virginia as her sacrifice to a dearly-bought Union, and with the money purchase and return the injured and degraded African to the wealth, civilization and *hopes* of his idolatrous home. Let not those States lay to themselves the flattering unction, that they have wiped the

stain of guilt, if guilt there be, from their souls, by emancipating those negroes who were in bondage to them and their fathers! What has become of those once happy slaves? What is their position now, in the race of progress that is tearing all the elements to hurry it on? As well might we ask, where are the crowds of happy children of the forest, who gathered in infatuated admiration around the ill-omened May-Flower, when, in an evil and fated hour, her prow first grated against the Western Continent. This, upon the supposition that they are right as to slavery itself. But if negro slavery is right, and our title just, as we have proven them to be, then the wrong done, if wrong there was, consisted only in the means originally resorted to for acquiring possession, and with that we have nothing to do. We think that such wrong was personal to the perpetrators of it; but if the descendants of those perpetrators think differently—think that the guilt has descended to them—then let them atone for it; and if done *legitimately*, we will offer no hinderance. Let Britain furnish her gold, and the Northern States sell the magnificent gift of Virginia, and, together, repurchase the slaves their fathers sold us, and return them to their happy, Christian homes! while we, our title by purchase being good, will take the money they pay us for them, go to Africa and purchase millions of others; and after a few years' sojourn in happy Africa, repurchase, at a reduction of ninety per cent., the very same that were so philanthropically carried away.

ART. III.—BLACK REPUBLICAN SUCCESS AND A SOUTHERN UNION.

J. D. B. DE Bow, Esq: One of my friends has suggested to me the propriety of offering you for publication an article which appeared, some time since, in the *Charleston Mercury*. Should it suit you, I should be happy to see it make its appearance in your valuable periodical, in its present corrected and enlarged form. My great object, as you will readily perceive, is to propose what seems to me to be the least difficult means by which the South can secure a speedy and effective organization, to meet the contingencies which seem to await it—to induce it to place itself, at least, upon equal terms with its adversary; and, above all, not to permit that adversary, to enter into a contest with it with the advantages of an organized government, ready resources, and all the tempting allurements of place and patronage for the venal, when there is no earthly reason whatever, why the South itself, should not place itself in an equally imposing attitude, in every respect. Indeed, upon the whole, in a much better and stronger position—ininitely more so, if thoroughly backed by the sympathy of the population of Virginia and the District.

However, upon these matters, judgment must be passed by yourself and others.

I remain, dear sir, your obdt. servt.,

W. MIDDLETON.

THERE are few, I imagine, who will be disposed to deny that the desire for a dissolution of the Union is becoming daily stronger and more universally entertained throughout the Southern States of the confederacy. Few of the thoughtful men, whose attention is directed to public affairs, can refrain from acknowledging that their conviction is daily strengthened, of the utter impossibility of any plan being devised by which the two contending sections, with such discordant opinions as to vital interests, can be brought to live together in peaceful and friendly association.

Under these circumstances, the question, which would seem to arise most properly for grave public deliberation, would be as to the most ready means for bringing about, with the least difficulty and embarrassment, a separation so devoutly to be wished.

To this consideration I venture to invoke a small portion of the public attention.

It strikes me that while a great deal has been written, and still more has been said, upon the policy, propriety, and even the necessity of dissolving the Union, by far too little, comparatively, has been suggested, as to the mode of procedure to be adopted in bringing about, or even meeting this event upon its occurrence. In short, although the aim and objects of the South be perfectly definite and distinctly discernible, there is, I think, almost on all sides, a reprehensible inertness of disposition tending to leave the attainment of their ends too much to the operation of chance measures and uncertain contingencies. Surely, in a matter as momentous as this, reflection, management, and selection of opportunity, should not be regarded as unimportant, or as unworthy of consideration. So far is it otherwise, in a government like ours, that the title of good citizen is virtually forfeited by one who claims immunity from the earnest attention and the anxieties necessarily incidental to circumstances like the present, and their probable consequences. It is a matter which is every man's business—which should be brought constantly before the people; and the discussion of the plans for action, when these are plausible, should be entertained and encouraged, so as to facilitate, on emergency, the choice of the most promising—the advantages of methodical and preconcerted action in all cases of public commotion, being too manifest to require specification. But these propositions rarely emanate from politicians. The business of these is with selected and approved projects chiefly, while the private citizen may, at all times, experiment at

pleasure, and venture upon the proposal of schemes, the adoption or rejection of which will not compromise his interests in the public favor.

Southern conventions and State action of various kinds have been proposed ; all, either directly and avowedly, aiming at the establishment of a Southern Confederacy, or with the hope or chance of such incidental consequences. But the chief difficulty has really arisen from the hesitation, on the part of the Southern people, to assemble a body of men who might transcend their authority, and regard themselves as empowered to make changes in the constitution, to be followed, with more or less certainty, by trouble and confusion. And I think that the want of unanimity in their resolves to take a decisive step, has been more in consequence of this dread, than of any other apprehension.

These objections are not without foundation, but at the same time they are far from being insurmountable, and they may, it seems to me, be obviated by the course which might be adopted by the South, in the approaching Presidential election. Now, I know of no constitutional process of breaking up this Union ; and if we are to wait until one is discovered, we shall have to put up with some delay. This election may be made to offer a plain and direct result, entirely untrammelled with uncertainties ; and, being divested of the ordinary revolutionary terrors, leave the public mind unoppressed by vague and paralyzing apprehensions. The South would know exactly what it has to expect. It can determine fully beforehand, as to the adequacy of the results, to satisfy its yearnings, and accomplish its objects—while the action would be prompt, definite, and unattended by the confusion and disastrous commercial disturbances which so easily alarm the timid and prudent citizens. Let the approaching contest be sectional—let it be between the North and the South—between those who seek to pervert and destroy the Constitution and those who wish to uphold and preserve it—between those who seek to transform the government into a powerful and resistless engine for the plunder and the destruction of the liberty and welfare of one half the confederacy, and those who desire to resist aggression and maintain their just and chartered rights. The opponents in the halls of Congress are not very unequally divided. Is it to be supposed that the Southern portion of these representatives are to go to Washington to aid and abet by their acts in the subversion of our Constitution, or even, that they are to sit quietly looking

on, while its destruction is consummated? The idea of such conduct is preposterous. Upon such an errand, men and gentlemen should not be sent; or, if sent, as men and gentlemen they should refuse to go. There is a course, however, open to them, and worthy of them. They are, numerically, physically, and, indeed, in every respect, powerful enough to bear themselves through it. They have but to resolve upon it, under the authority of their constituents, and (premising that, as a matter of course, it cannot be expected that revolutionary measures can be carried out within the strict limits of constitutional action) I think that the plan which I propose would involve no greater departure from them than many other modes of procedure which have been suggested; and certainly no greater violation of them than the election of a Black Republican President would justify. And under such circumstances, the several State legislatures might surely undertake to give the necessary instructions to the Representatives in Congress. The Northern candidate (republican or free-soil—the advocate of Southern ruin—it matters not how the nomenclature be determined) will have the majority of votes, and the climax of aggression will thus have been capped. The Southern candidate will, of course, be in the minority; the South, as usual, in all cases, “coming off second best.” Be it so. Let it on this occasion accept its fortune, for once, with becoming and praiseworthy satisfaction. But let the South instruct its minority candidate, representing those striving to uphold the Constitution, and defeated in the race for the presidency of the whole confederacy, to proceed precisely in accordance with the usual forms consequent upon election, and, utterly ignoring the Northern choice, to organize a government, as on all former occasions, but for the Southern confederacy—for all those States which may deem it their interest, or signify their desire to form a part of that confederacy, or rather remain in it—for this is the true statement of the matter—let, or rather insist that the Southern choice shall proceed *pari passu* with the Northern, complying, in every respect with every official form and ceremony observed on such occasions—that the oaths be simultaneously administered—that one shall not qualify without the other—that they stand side by side in the halls of Congress, if you will, and equally claim the right to occupy the White House, making the Southern choice, like his rival, “every inch a President.” Two Presidents or none; not *one* without the *other*; and, under these circumstances—in the heart of Washington city, in

Southern and slave territory—if a son of Virginia, with an organized government, cannot make good his stand, and, moreover, acquire for his section a fair share of the public property of all kinds, what, alas! may not be said, not only of the sons of Virginia, but also of the sons of the whole South, of the nineteenth century?

The Constitution has been ever good enough for the Southern States—has been always, and is, still, beloved and respected—in all things sufficient in itself, without change, to secure our prosperity and happiness—and amply adequate to the wants and habits of our Southern nature. We cling to it still, and are determined, if possible, to perpetuate it. Let those who have found it necessary to violate and abrogate it to enable them to compass and carry out their ends in life and government, improve or renew it to suit their Yankee nature to their heart's content—but not at our expense. Like Shylock, they can buy with us Christians, and can sell with us, but cannot live together, under the same Constitution. It is in vain to make further efforts to do so. But at the same time it is not absolutely necessary that we should fight; and the probabilities are very strong that, when brought face to face, as above proposed, each with plenty of work on hand for settlement, each section would come to the conclusion that its interests would be infinitely more advanced by negotiation with, than by war upon, each other.

ART. IV.—THE CITIES OF GEORGIA.

SAVANNAH, THE PRINCIPAL SEAPORT OF GEORGIA.

COLONIAL and Revolutionary reminiscences of deep interest cluster around the history of the flourishing city of Savannah. General James Edward Oglethorpe first landed here, and founded the colony of Georgia.

In November, 1732, he embarked for Georgia with 116 settlers, and on the 13th of January, 1733, his ships anchored outside of the bar at Charleston, S. C. The governor of South Carolina received him with marked kindness. After partaking of his hospitality for a few days he reëmbarked, and arrived at Yamacraw, where he laid out this city. Its location is in many respects, the most favorable, that could have been selected, and proves the practical knowledge of its founder. It stands upon a bluff, forty feet above low-water

mark, is bounded by a beautiful stream, navigable at all seasons for the largest sized vessels, and affording a depth of water of thirty feet on the bar, and thence to the city seventeen feet. The city is eighteen miles distant from the Atlantic ocean, completely secured from inundation, and its harbor from nautical gales.

Colonial documents and traditions connected with the arrival of Oglethorpe, and his associates, and the settlement of Georgia, show that the benevolent founders gave their *time*, *energy*, and *money*, for promoting the welfare of others, asking and expecting no other reward than what arises from virtuous impulses.

The annals of no nation point to more glorious and noble actions.

General Oglethorpe soon made friends with the Indians, and through the intercession of a squaw, named Musgrove, who married a Carolinian, and who understood the English language, he was enabled to communicate freely with them. Accordingly, a general meeting of the chiefs was called at Savannah, at which he informed them that the whites had no intention of depriving them of their land. Presents were distributed and a treaty of peace and amity was formed. Prominent among the first contributors to build up this then infant colony, were Colonel Bull, Captain McPherson, Mr. Bellinger, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. St. Julien, Mr. Barlow and Captain Odingsell.

The first battle was fought at Savannah between the British and colonists on the 25th of December, 1778, in which the Americans lost 83 killed.

After this fight, many of the citizens of Savannah who took no part in the action, were barbarously bayoneted in the streets, and others, who refused to enlist in their service, were confined in prison-ships, among whom were Hon. Jonathan Bryan, Rev. Moses Allen, Mordecai Sheftall, Esq., Sheftall Sheftall, Esq., Edward Davis, Esq., Dr. George Wells, David Moses Vallotton, Esq., and James Bryan, Esq.

On the 11th of July, 1782, the British forces evacuated Savannah, having occupied it for three years and a half, and Col. James Jackson was appointed to receive the keys.

During this siege, Colonel John White, an Englishman by birth, of Irish descent, and at one time a surgeon in the British navy, effected one of the most extraordinary captures in the annals of warfare.

Captain French, with five vessels, and his command,

numbering 111 soldiers, and possessing 130 stand of arms, being detained on the Ogeechee river, twenty-five miles from Savannah, Col. John White, with a party consisting of seven in all, formed a plan to capture them, and disclosed it to his associates. It was this: He built many fires around his camp, placing them at such intervals, as to induce the enemy to believe that he was surrounded by a large force. This deception was kept up through the night by White and his companions, marching from fire to fire with the measured tread and the loud challenge of sentinels. The delusion was complete. White demanded a conference with French, and, addressing him, he said:

"Sir, I am the commander of the American soldiers in your vicinity. If you will surrender at once to me, I will see to it, that no injury is done to you or your command. If you decline to do this, I must candidly inform you that the feelings of my troops are highly incensed against you, and I can by no means be responsible for any consequences that may ensue."

French thanked him for his humanity, and said that it was useless to contend with fate, or with so large a force as was around him, and announced his willingness to surrender his arms, his vessels, and his men.

At this instant Captain A. E. Elholm came dashing up and saluting White, inquired where he should place the artillery.

"Keep them back, keep them back, sir," answered White, "the British have surrendered! Move your men off, and send me three guides to conduct them to the American post." The three guides arrived. The five vessels were burned, and the British, urged by White to keep clear of his men, pushed on with great celerity, while White retired with one or two companions, stating that he would go to his troops in the rear and restrain them. He then employed himself in collecting the neighboring militia, with which he overtook his guides and conducted his prisoners to the post at Sanbury.

In this connection we may mention also, as an extraordinary military rescue, the incident which has rendered immortal the name of Sergeant William Jasper, of the 2d South Carolina regiment. Bravery and humanity were his chief characteristics, and while he was active in the cause of his country, he never injured an enemy unnecessarily.

While out upon one of his excursions, when the British had a camp at Ebenezer, all the sympathies of his heart were aroused by the distress of a Mrs. Jones, whose husband, an American by birth, was confined in irons for deserting the royal cause after taking a protection. She felt certain that

he would be hanged, for, with others, he was to be taken to Savannah for that purpose the next morning. Jasper and his only companion, Sergeant Newton, resolved to rescue Jones and his fellow-prisoners. Concealing themselves in the thick bushes near the spring (at which they doubted not the guard of eight men would halt), they awaited their approach. As expected, the guard halted to drink. Only two of them remained with the prisoners, while the others, leaning their muskets against a tree, went to the spring. Jasper and his companion then leaped from their concealment, seized two of the guns, shot the two sentinels, and took possession of the remainder of the muskets. The guards, unarmed, were powerless, and surrendered. The irons were knocked off the wrists of the prisoners, muskets were placed in their hands, and the custodians of Jones and his fellow-patriots were taken to the American camp at Perrysburg the next morning, themselves prisoners-of-war. Jones was restored to his wife, child, and country. For that noble deed posterity blesses the name of Sergeant William Jasper.

But to return to Savannah. The population is 25,000. The long, level streets are rendered remarkably pleasant by lines of trees along their sides, and in the widest through their middle, shading the traveller from the Southern sun, and affording delightful walks at all times of the day.

Shady parks are intersperced more frequently in this than any other American city. Among other splendid trees the pride of China holds a conspicuous rank.

Two beautiful monuments adorn one of its principal streets: one erected in Monterey square, on the 11th October, 1853, to the memory of Count Casimer Pulaski, and the other in Johnston's square, in memory of General Nathanael Greene. The corner-stones of both were laid in Johnston's square, during the visit of General Lafayette, on the 21st day of March, 1825, and the one particularly intended for Count Pulaski, was subsequently removed to the present site. The former is 55 feet high, on one side of which is the representation of a soldier losing his life fighting; wounded, he falls from his horse, while still grasping his sword. The coat-of-arms of Poland and Georgia, surrounded by branches of laurels, ornaments the cornice on two sides; they stand together, while the eagle, emblem of Liberty, Independence, and Courage, rests on both, bidding proud defiance—the eagle being the symbolic bird of Poland and America. The cannon reversed on the corners of the die, are emblematical of military loss and mourning, while they

give the monument a strong military character. The shaft is surmounted by a highly elaborate cap, which adds loftiness and grandeur to the structure. The whole is surmounted by a statue of Liberty, holding the American flag. The garlands surrounding the column show that Liberty, now, is a young and blooming maiden surrounded with flowers. The public is mainly indebted to Major Wm. P. Bowen, for superintending the erection of this monument, which is of the finest Italian white marble, with a base (two steps and lower plinth) of granite, and built by Mr. Launitz, of New York.

On the south side is the following inscription :

PULASKI,

THE HEROIC POLE,

*who fell, mortally wounded, fighting for American liberty
at the siege of Savannah,*

9TH OCTOBER, 1779.

The latter monument, in Johnston's square, is a plain, freestone shaft, without ornament or inscription, and about sixty feet in height. It is in contemplation to substitute for this an equestrian statue of General Nathanael Greene.

Among the prominent public buildings, we would mention :

The chaste and beautiful custom-house, of granite, built by the liberality of the general government ; the same being fireproof throughout.

The old exchange, situated on the bay, fronting Bull street, and constructed of brick, presents a venerable appearance.

The Savannah poor-house and hospital, a commodious structure, situated on the southeastern part of the Commons. It is under the management of a board of directors, who have made the most ample provision for the comfort of its inmates.

The St. Andrew's Hall, situated on the south side of Broughton street, is 60 by 90 ft. The first floor is designed for stores ; upon the second are spacious halls and ante-rooms ; and on the third are dinner rooms, &c. The cost of this building was \$27,000.

The hall of the Georgia Historical Society is a beautiful building, and admirably adapted for the purpose intended.

The jail, arsenal, guard-house, and numerous parks and churches, display the characteristic enterprise and liberality of the citizens.

The city contains one Roman Catholic, one Lutheran, one Independent Presbyterian, one Presbyterian, and one Unitari-

an church, three Protestant Episcopal churches, one Baptist church for whites (and three for colored people), one church for Mariners, two Methodist churches for whites (and one for colored people), and one Hebrew synagogue, all with able and pious ministers.

In 1796, the house of worship of the Independent Presbyterians was destroyed by fire.

On one of the Protestant Episcopal churches we notice the following inscription :



I. H. S.
CHRIST CHURCH.

Founded, A. D. 1743. Erected, 1789.

Destroyed by fire, 1796. Rebuilt and enlarged, 1803.

Injured by a hurricane, 1804. Constructed anew, 1810.

Taken down, and this edifice erected,
1838.

With regard to the Hebrew congregation we may say :

A number of the ancient people of God came over from England to Savannah ; among them were the Sheftalls, Mims, Nunes, Cordovas, and D'Lyons, a short period after the settlement of Georgia. They established a temporary place of worship, to which they gave the name of Mickoa Israel. The heckel, safer, tora, cloaks, and circumcision-box, brought with them, were placed therein, and are used to this day. In 1790 they were incorporated as a body politic, by the name of "The Parnass and Adjuntas of Mickoa Israel," at Savannah. In July, 1820, the synagogue was erected.

Among the banks we should notice, the Bank of the State of Georgia, the Bank of Commerce, the Planters' Bank, the Marine Bank, the Merchants and Planters' Bank, the Central Railroad and Banking Company, the Bank of Savannah, the Mechanics' Savings Bank, and the Timber-Gutters' Bank.

The Savannah Water-works were commenced in the winter of 1852-'53. The supply is obtained from the Savannah river, and received into a reservoir, located on the low lands, west of the Ogeechee canal. In order to free the water from the earthy matter it holds in suspension, this reservoir is divided into four compartments, rendered distinct from each other, by partitions faced with masonry. Into any or all of these compartments or basins, the water is admitted by means of

iron gateways; the contents of one basin can be used, while the process of sedimentation is going on, undisturbed, in the others. Each one of these basins is made to communicate, by means of culverts of masonry and iron gateways, with a chamber or pump-well of masonry, situated underneath a building which contains the boilers and engines of the pumping apparatus, by means of which the water is forced into the city. The plateau on which the city of Savannah is built, has an altitude of about forty feet above the river. Upon this elevation is built the distributing reservoir, having a height of about eighty feet above the general grade of the streets. This structure consists of a circular tower of substantial masonry, upon which is placed the reservoir of iron. From this reservoir, having an elevation sufficient for all purposes, the water is distributed throughout the city in the usual manner, by means of cast-iron pipes, furnished with all necessary fire hydrants, stop-gates, &c. The whole height to which the water is raised by the pumping engines, is 120 feet, and the distance from the receiving to the distributing reservoir, is somewhat more than half a mile.

The country has a large portion of fertile land. On the Savannah river, the bodies of tide swamp lands are extensive, and are cultivated upward of twenty miles from the blackish marsh up the river, and are considered the most valuable lands in the State. Many of the rice plantations have a picturesque appearance.

The statement of exports from the port of Savannah, from the 1st of September, 1858, to the 1st September, 1859, is :

	Foreign.	Coastwise.	Total.
<i>Cotton</i> —Bales, Upland.....	253,743.....	198,523.....	452,266
“ “ Sea Island.....	8,298.....	8,489.....	16,787
	262,041	207,012	469,053
<i>Rice</i> —Casks	6,836.....	31,294.....	38,130
<i>Lumber</i> —Feet.....	29,384,315.....	9,543,669.....	38,927,984
<i>Wheat</i> —Bushels.....			136,484

Strangers have heretofore found some difficulty in procuring accommodations in the city of Savannah, but it is confidently expected that the early completion of a splendid hotel (the Screven House, now in progress) will remedy any inconvenience in this respect, and we most heartily recommend it to a liberal patronage.

At present, the Screven House is well conducted, and the officers are gentlemen in every respect, faithful in discharging the duties incumbent upon them. The rooms are airy, com-

modious, well furnished, and clean. The table is always spread with everything the market affords, and the servants are polite, prompt, and obedient.

The Pulaski House, long known to the public, speaks for itself.

The first printing-press was established in 1763, and the *Georgia Gazette*, printed on the 7th of April of that year. The press is now ably represented by the *Morning News*, independent; the *Republican*, opposition; the *Evening Express*, democratic.

Late improvements in railroads, and other channels of communication, have added largely to the growth and prosperity of this progressive city.

The Central railroad extends one hundred and ninety-one miles to Macon, whence the Macon and Western railroad proceeds one hundred and one miles in a northwesterly direction to Atlanta, and the southwestern railroad to Albany and Columbus.

With regard to the wholesale dry-goods business, it affords us great pleasure in particular, to mention the widely-known establishment of our esteemed friends, Messrs. Foot & Jaudon, opposite St. Andrew's Hall, an old-established house.

The grocery trade will compare favorably with that of any other city of equal size. It is here a very important one, and is well represented.

The hardware business is a large one, and fully adequate to the demand.

The boot and shoe trade is in a flourishing condition.

The crockery, furniture, and drug business afford ample facilities to buyers. It is a fact, that the whole city during the past summer enjoyed good health, and this has imparted energy and activity to every department of business.

Among the most prominent places in the neighborhood of the city of Savannah, we mention :

Thunderbolt (Warsaw), five miles southeast of the city.

Beaulieu, about twelve miles from Savannah, was formerly the residence of Colonel William Stephens, celebrated in the early history of Georgia.

Bonaventure, is four miles from the city, known as the seat of Governor Tattnall, one among the most lovely spots in the world.

Brewton's Hill, the property of Hon. Dr. I. P. Screven, deceased, was the place where a portion of the British landed preparatory to their attack upon Savannah in 1778.

Cherokee Hill, eight miles from town.

Hutcheson's Island, opposite the city.

Fort Pulaski, is situated upon Cockspur Island, fourteen miles from the city. The entire cost of the work was almost a million of dollars, and it was nearly sixteen years in construction. It is one of the strongest and most perfect of the kind on the continent.

Fort Jackson, named after Governor James Jackson, is situated on the south side of the Savannah river, about three miles from town.

Jasper Spring, named after Sergeant William Jasper, above mentioned, is about two miles from Savannah, within the edge of a forest of oaks and gums.

ART. V.—STATE, TERRITORIAL, AND FEDERAL AUTHORITY.

[The following paper was prepared as an answer to the article in *Harpers' Magazine*, by Senator Douglas, which attracted so much attention in the country. It is from the pen of an able gentleman in Virginia, and skilfully examines the whole subject. We regret that its publication was prevented in our last number by the pressure of other matter, and that many addenda to it, which were subsequently received, must now be omitted for the same reason. The argument, however, is complete as it is, and the subject has been so thoroughly discussed that little more remains to be said upon it. The public are very nearly satisfied.—Ed.]

"THE dividing line between State and federal authority," as it existed under "the old Articles of Confederation," was broken down by the Constitution of the "more perfect Union." The author of the essay on "Popular Sovereignty in the Territories," as published in *Harpers' Magazine* for September, 1859, admits that the territorial people must be "loyal" to that Union, and "subject" to the Constitution by which that Union was established. He makes a still more important admission. "The confederation," he says, "was soon shown to be utterly insufficient to accomplish the objects for which it was devised. It had no power to enforce its decrees on the federal questions, which were clearly within the scope of its expressly delegated powers." Wherefore, "it was substituted by the federal government, with its appropriate departments, *acting directly upon the individual citizens*, with authority to enforce its decrees, to the extent of its delegated powers, and not dependent upon the voluntary action of the several States

in their corporate capacities." It is this government "acting on the individual citizens," to which the territorial people, being in truth "a political community," though not altogether "distinct," is "subject," and must be "loyal."

Of his long account of the successful revolt of the colonies against the mother-country, as helping his view of popular sovereignty in the territorial possessions of the United States, a few words only need be said. The difference is deep and broad, irrepressible and sempiternal. The colonies sought to be absolved from all allegiance to the British crown. Each territorial people asks to be admitted into co-equal *subjection* to the government of their Union, with the States already united in that subjection. The one sought to throw off, the other seeks to take on, the government. The body of the one refused to send back the blood to the heart. The vitality of union was extinguished. The other desires to send back the blood to the heart, through all the arteries of the body politic, in order that the subjection may exist and the union be healthful. Why the patients should be put on the same treatment, would puzzle all the doctors (as it has the author of the essay, the most eminent of them) to tell. The one would not be subject to the treatment; the other must be. The one by being subject to the British crown, would have had its vital powers crippled. The other by being subject to the government of the Union, will have its general health and all its members invigorated. To have submitted to the treatment, would have been death to the affectionate connection of the colonies with the mother-country. To submit to the treatment is, for the territorial people, alone capable of securing a constitutional union, as "they must be loyal." The connection of the one was capable of being dissolved; the other is not. If the one succeeded (as it did) in the revolt, it could (as it did) set up for itself. Were the other to have success in refusing to be subject, the proprietary rights of the government of the Union, or, at least, its trusteeship for the States, would still remain. Had Old England subdued the *patriot* rebels, her ownership of the soil would have been exclusive. Should New-England succeed in letting the rebels, against the authority of the government of the Union, have "their own way," her ownership of the soil would not be exclusive; for, the South claims, and is not denied, her share of the public lands in the territories. In a word, our fathers struggled "for the inestimable right of local self-government *under* the British constitution." The author of the essay contends for local

self-government for the territorial people in defiance of the authority of the American Constitution, while he says they are "subject" to it, and must be "loyal." The colonies, in very truth, could only have become free by refusing to be subject to the constitution of Old England—not the constitution of her dependencies, but of herself alone; so vagrant is her constitution in acts of Parliament omnipotent. The territories can only become free indeed, and so remain, by consenting to be subject to the Constitution (not of New-England and her allies only, but) of the United States—a Constitution written down and the unchanging record of the public law of these States. It is withal, and this is the most of it, *that it is to that written Constitution, as a whole, and not only as fragmentary*, that the people of the territories are "subject" and must be "loyal." It is only because this living and leading truth is not observed and enforced, that the hideous excrescence of Mormonism, in Utah, is suffered so to disfigure our beautiful system. It is a truth living in abstraction, but not binding in practice. It is only because the abstraction is not valued in practice, that the slavery agitation as to the dimensions of its constitutional sanctuary, is yet a little longer to be lengthened out, or else the slave States are to become (or remain) as degraded as if they were made inferior to the free States, by that Constitution to which they must all alike be subject, if they would retain in union that freedom which is the only freedom the Constitution of the United States was intended to secure.

One remark will suffice as to the next most prominent incident in our history, from which the author of the essay strives to gather strength to his theory of "popular sovereignty" in the territories. The remark is, that no support can be derived from "the Jeffersonian plan," for the reason that it belonged to the epoch of the old "Confederation," which was superseded by the "more perfect Union" now existing, and "acting directly upon the individual citizens." The failure of the "Confederation" so to act, was its great deficiency which produced the necessity for the substitution of the Federal Union. There was not then, as now there is, a "superintending government" (see the *Federalist*, on the "guarantee of republican forms"), to which the territorial people, no less than the people of the several States, are subject and must be loyal. There was not then, as now there is, a general government, which, exacting obedience of individuals to its decrees, to the utmost extent of its intrusted powers, owes to those individu-

als the correlative duty (to the extent of its utmost granted powers) of "protecting and guarding" them in their rights of property. Such is the duty of that general government, say the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, "coupled with the power" to do it: and the author of the essay denies that he has assailed or dissents from that court.

It would next be here shown at more length, than is intended, if it were not elsewhere already shown so well by others, that the author of the essay has failed to derive, as no one could where his ability and ingenuity fail to derive, any support to his theory, from the opinions of the judges, which he brings forth from the *Dredd Scott* adjudication. While it is not claimed to be an argument to convince, it is entitled to some influence to dissuade from the acceptance of the interpretation the author of the essay ascribes to those opinions, to remind our readers that other eminent men cite the very passage in the opinion of the court, in support of "intervention for protection," which that author presses into his service as if against that doctrine, in his citations of that opinion, to wit: that the only power Congress has in the business is, "the power coupled with the duty of guarding and protecting the owner [of slaves] in his rights." It shall suffice, on this head, directly to refer to the ingenious use the author makes of that citation of the passage which he sets forth in full, with fairness. His use of it is an attempt to show, or lead his readers to infer, that the court only intended that the power and duty to guard and protect slave property to its owners, extended only to cases of "slaves escaped from their owners." Marking the words, "if the slave escapes from his owner," in italics, in the passage as he quotes it in full, he annexes the remark that such is "the only contingency" in which the court intended that it is the right of Congress "to *interfere* with slavery in the States or territories." Now, let it be noted, for no use here, however, that the court does not, in the cited passage or elsewhere, in the opinion, even intimate, most remotely, that Congress has any power, at any time, or in any way, to "interfere" with slavery in the States. It is only as to the territories that there is any one conflicting view with another. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." The territories alone are looked to. As to these, in another sentence of the passage which the author quotes, the court says that "no tribunal, acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive, or judicial, has a right to deny to it [slave property] the benefit of *the provisions and guarantees*" (not the fugitive.

slave clause alone) "which have been provided for the protection of private property against the encroachments of the government." Is it not too plain for comment, that the authority of the opinion of the court is not confined to "the only contingency" "of a slave escaped from his owner"? Without the many obvious remarks on the use the author makes of the word "interfere," it may be indulged as important (as it is deemed pertinent) to remark on it that the clause of reserved rights, in the Constitution of the United States, which "no frenzied fanaticism can efface," coupled with the other clauses which, though bearing on the subject of the discussion, the author of the essay omits to quote, does "prohibit to the States"—not only to the State legislatures, as he says it does not to the territorial legislatures, but also to *conventions* forming State constitutions—any right whatever to touch the ownership of private property, except for debt, or crime, or public use. It is in the strength of the omitted clauses—the clauses not cited by the author of the essay—that the power to deprive the owner of the possession of his slaves *in kind*, is prohibited to the *States* and to a territorial people forming a constitution for *admission*—not "accession"—as a State. These omitted clauses are, most prominently, that, "*no person* shall be deprived of his property, except by due process of law," for debt or crime; and that "private property shall not be taken for public use, without just compensation." It is only for *public use*, with just compensation to the owner, that his property can be taken, lawfully, from him. Only by the supreme legislative power of a sovereign State, of power uncontradicted and despotic, could it be taken without just compensation. Now, let it be admitted that "it is universally agreed that *those clauses* apply only to the exercise of the power by the government of the United States;" yet it is true, as recently we have been told by high authority, in certain "observations" on the author's essay, that "we are also protected against the State governments, by a similar provision in the State constitutions." Why should we not be also protected by similar provisions against the territorial governments, and against the majority of the territorial delegates in convention, when in the act of forming their constitution to become a State? The same great cause—the identical and sempiternal reason—which induced the framers of the Federal Constitution, and of the constitutions of the States severally, to incorporate into them those expressions of the principle of protection of private property, still

exists in all its might and majesty to dictate the incorporation of the principles into the constitution of every people asking to come as a State into the Union. That cause—that reason, as the same high authority expresses it—is that “this power over property is *the one* which, in all governments, has been most carefully guarded, because, “the temptation [*to government*] to abuse it is always greater than any other.” The conclusion is, that territorial interference with private property, not within the clear scope of the principle of those provisions in the federal and the State constitutions, can only be “in flat rebellion to the fundamental law of the land.” It is only insisted *beyond*, that the provisions by which “we are also protected against the governments of the States,” that are already in the Union, shall be incorporated into the constitution of every State yet to be admitted.

The other chief error on which the author of the essay ingeniously seeks to fortify his theory, is the notion that these States must all become slave or be made free States. The notion is quoted by the author, with toleration, if not with concurrence. He puts the question thus: if the principles of law, applicable to negro slavery, are uniform throughout the dominion of the United States, why does not slavery exist, to-day, in Pennsylvania as well as Virginia? The idea of the author is that, if, by virtue of the Constitution of the United States, slavery lawfully exists in Kansas, in case the owner of any slaves has carried them there, it is equally true that, by virtue of that Constitution, it would lawfully be established in Massachusetts, should the owner of a negro think fit, in the wantonness of his masterdom, to carry him into that now free State, to be there held in bondage as a property. That is the marrow of the frame-work of the long-protracted dissection of the subject of negro slavery in the territories. It has been much mangled. It seems to me the views may be shown to be altogether erroneous. Let two observations be first presented. The distinguished citizen who first suggested the theory that all the States must either be slave or free, cited (as he supposed) two *facts* to sustain it. The one is, that, as to negro slavery, “*the United States constitute one nation.*” It is, perhaps, enough, on this point to say, that the very generally received opinion, if, indeed, it is not now universally agreed, is, that we are one nation only in our *foreign* relations. The other supposed fact is, that, in the slave States, the masterdom over negroes “constitutes a ruling aristocracy.” The truth of history, as well as the exist-

ing state of things, is, that the right of suffrage, in which resides the political power in this country, is as liberally extended in the slave as in the free States. In no sense, now, is it the case that the owners of slaves are the favored depository and dispenser of the political power of the slave States. The number of votes in Virginia is probably larger of those who do not, than of those who do own negroes. The theory fails of both the facts claimed for its support.

The other matter to be observed on is, that the fugitive slave clause is not the only nor the principal recognition of slavery by the Constitution of the United States. The clause apportioning representation is another and more important subjection of negro slaves to the *status* of property. Here is a positive act, by the founders of our federation system, treating negroes as less than persons. That act was not constrained by deference to any State law. So the author of the essay cannot gather, as he seems to seek, strength to his views from the fact, as he supposes it was, that, because the laws of certain States "*created*" (?) a property in slaves of African descent, therefore they were recognized as such by the Constitution of the United States. The truth of history is, that negroes were not made a property by "State laws." It was an existing property before there was any state of "confederated" association. Considering the prevalent aversion to negro slavery during the old "Confederation," and the disposition to form a more perfect union—a union of larger powers than the old league—it is not improbable that the framers and ratifiers of the Federal Constitution would have refused to recognize the "all other persons" as property, in mere deference to *State laws*. Be that so or not, it is certain that the federal authority is bound by the *Constitution* of the United States, in which that authority consists, to treat negroes as less than persons, by another provision of that instrument, besides the one requiring the fugitive or stolen slave to be restored to the master, from any other State to the one "under the laws whereof" his labor is due to his owner. A higher consideration than the policy of any of the States, constrained the framers of the Federal Constitution to recognize negroes as property, and to treat them as such. It was respect for the *ownership* of property which had descended from father to son, and from testator to legatees, and from seller to buyer, from 1620, when the title was acquired by occupancy or by purchase (*in the heathen land*) of the original stock, that negroes were recognized by the Federal Constitution as a

property. It was the same overruling consideration (for which the mother-country was at fault, as the author of the essay abundantly shows, in the early legislation of Virginia) which constrained the framers of the State constitutions to recognize negroes as slaves. As to the framers of the Federal Constitution, it is shown more clearly than by either of the others, by that clause which reserved to the States the right to import as much more of the same sort of property as any of them might "think proper to admit" before 1808, free from any duty on such importation, "exceeding ten dollars for each person" imported. About this clause of the Constitution, moreover, let it be observed, clusters abundant refutation and repulsion of the theory, that, because slavery exists lawfully in an organized territory, *by virtue of the Federal Constitution*, it may, therefore, be lawfully introduced into a State which did not have it when "the more perfect union" was formed, or which is now free from it, having expelled it since. With these observations, relative to incidental considerations belonging to the general subject, we will return to the prominent error from which the author of the essay seeks to gather strength to his theory of popular sovereignty, and which it is yet intended to answer more radically, having it in mind, however, to be again diverted from the principal idea, in order to bring in incidental views.

The grave thought—*grave* indeed it would be if there was truth in it—that the principles of the Federal Constitution, which challenge the protection of the slave property where it is, or where it may be carried in virtue of its recognition as such by that Constitution, apply equally to justify its extension and introduction as an "*institution*," in States in which the existence of the property is interdicted by *the local law*, can only be put forth or espoused for one of two purposes. The one is, as forming a ground to stand on in the future, in an attempt to interfere with slavery in the States. The other is, to alarm the fears of the free States, and so, now urge them on to do that wrong, as if in self-defence, which is the first enumerated of the two purposes in propagating that thought—one or the other of which, if, indeed, either can be otherwise, is inseparable from it; if, indeed, it is not the intention of the originator of the thought to have it fill both purposes.

The provisions of the Federal Constitution which challenge the protection of slave property, as already stated, are, remarkably enough, omitted by the author of the essay, in his otherwise copious citation of its provisions. These omitted provisions as already stated, are, that "no person's" property

shall be taken from him, except "by due process of law," looking to the judicial power which adjudicates the deprivation on account of crime or debt; or else, only for "public use," looking to the legislative and executive authorities, and comprehending only the specific purpose of actually employing the private property taken, with just compensation to the owner (as Chief Justice Taney says, in Avery's case), "in the service" and "for the benefit of the government." Any exercise of control by acts of ownership, over any person's property, by the government, for any other purpose, is among "the forbidden powers" to the federal authority. As has been stated "we are also protected by similar provisions in the State constitutions, against the State governments." The absence of a grant of the power is enough to show that it is a forbidden power. The powers not granted to either State or federal government, are reserved to the people—the rights of property to the individual citizens: for, by the terms, "no person," the citizen has the power of control over his property, secured to himself, except so far, only, as his power has been curtailed by being delegated. The State governments always did, as the federal government does, "act directly" on the individual citizen. The citizen owing obedience, is entitled to protection, unless one or the other of the governments to which he is subject, was expressly intended, or is so rightly interpreted, to act directly on the individual citizens, not beneficially, but destructively: a government, a *republic*, with capacity to destroy property at will, to strip the owner of his possessions! This would be subversion of our republican system, and would impute to its framers a want of sense enough to found a government, giving protection of property, as well as freedom of person, and as if the one was worth having, in the present constitution of the world, without the *right* to have and to hold the other!

As by the Federal Constitution the power over private property is reserved to the individual citizens, so also by it the power is reserved to the States, respectively, in their corporate capacities, to interdict the introduction, at any time, of any property not already imported. It is in virtue of this familiar principle that "the Missouri restriction" was constitutional. If the "restriction" had expelled slavery from Missouri, where the owners had it, and were entitled to "the direct action" of the federal government, *protectively*, it would have been unconstitutional. But it let slavery alone as it was in Missouri, and interdicted its introduction into a region which was then uninhabited except by Indians and wild beasts. This the

federal government had the power to do, whether as sovereign or trustee of the States. It deprived no person of his property. There was no political community there, the individual members of which had property, with rights reserved to control it absolutely within the range of undelegated authority to interfere with it. It was as to that soil from which the tread of the negro slave was excluded, as it was with the several States before they ratified the Federal Constitution, and invested the government it established with the power of "acting directly on the individual citizens." The one was at perfect liberty to keep off the tread of the slave. The other was as free to refuse to subject its citizens to "the direct action" of another government. The federal government, as to that region which at that time was "*as yet unsettled*," had the same power which each of the States under that government reserved to itself when it granted to Congress the power to prohibit *after* 1808, the importation or migration of any more of such persons as slaves as any of the States had theretofore thought proper to admit as such. The States did not thereby part with the power, each for itself, *before* 1808, to inhibit the importation of negro slaves or the migration of untutored Africans. They yet have the power, each for itself, to prohibit the introduction of any more of such persons as property, or *as citizens*, unless the general government has authority to naturalize foreigners of color. This power to keep out—not to let come in—is a very different power from that other of depriving the individual citizens of control over their private property to any extent to which the power of control or deprivation "has not been delegated to the United States by the Constitution," and has been "prohibited by it to the States." That reserved power of the States which no one of them has ever at any time, or for any purpose, or to any extent, parted with, and which is esteemed so valuable as a part of the sovereign power which each State has ever had, and has at this moment, to protect itself against the importation of such persons as slaves, as itself may not "think proper to admit," is of such a character, and so stable in principle, and so familiar in practice, that the free States need not be frightened from their propriety (?) by any fear that it can ever be invaded or impaired as a "dividing line between federal and local authority," by any desired aggrandizement of a section, or any attempted expansion of slavery.

So that error of the author of the essay, which he deduced from another's idea of "irrepressible conflict" between the

slave and the free States, is radically exposed by stating the provisions of the federal and the State constitutions ; on the one hand, showing that the rights of property in the individual citizens are safe in that shield ; and by bringing to view and inspection the stable principle familiar in practice, on the other hand, showing the reserved power of the States. In other words (to disentangle the exposure of the error from every other consideration, however pertinent, as it will now be more and very succinctly stated), it is thus shown that slavery does not exist by virtue of the Federal Constitution in the free States, *by the mighty power of the FACT* that the States have never surrendered the power they severally reserved by that Constitution, to *repel* (but not to *expel*) negro slaves—to keep them out of the State, but not to take them from their owners. Nor has the power of the individual owners to keep their slaves “as a possession” where they are recognized by State laws as a property, or elsewhere under the dominion of the government of the United States, where there are as yet no State laws, and where the citizens of all the States (Art. IV., Sec. 2, of Con. U. S.) “shall be entitled” to equal “privileges and immunities,” ever been surrendered by the individual citizens to the State governments, nor to the general government, much less to any territorial authority. As the power of the States to keep out “the institution,” is reserved by the Federal Constitution to the several States in their corporate capacities, and in that fact their right subsists to keep slaves out of them, each State for itself, so also the power of the individual owner to hold on to his slaves *in kind*, is stable in the mightier power of that other FACT, to wit : that the original sovereignty of the States, in virtue of which the rule of the majority had no check on its will—that sovereignty no less of the slave States, than of the free States—“*is LIMITED by the Federal Constitution*”—limited not only by the particular provisions cited, and by their sempiternal principle demanding in its own strength to be incorporated into the constitution of every new State, as it is in the constitutions of the States already in the Union ; but also by the general provision of the Federal Constitution, that itself and all laws in pursuance of it, “shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in it or *any laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.*” That is the answer, why, though slavery exists by virtue of the Federal Constitution in a territory, it yet does not exist by virtue of that Constitution, in (and may, notwithstanding its recognitions of slavery, be kept out by) any free

State which at first repelled, or has since (however unconstitutional) expelled it, and is rid of it, now.

There are several minor considerations in support of the views of the author of the essay, which he presents and urges with his usual ingenuity and power, which would be here brought under review, if it had not already been done by others. The author of the essay concludes that the power to "admit new States" may be fairly construed to include the right to institute temporary governments, &c., but "certainly not to authorize Congress to legislate in respect to their internal concerns," &c. Now, can it be that Congress may legislate only in respect to the territories' external relations? Are not these already sufficiently and fully defined by the Federal Constitution? Can it be that the federal authority can rightfully regulate the foreign or external relations of a "distinct political community," and so transgress the usual dividing-line between a principality and other powers, and, yet, not have power to supervise and regulate the local legislation under that temporary government which the federal authority has the right to (and did) institute? And that, too, when the federal authority is conceded (by him) to have been itself instituted to "act directly upon the individual citizens?" It would seem that the federal authority is not any more bound to "enforce its decrees to the extent of its delegated powers," against the individual citizens in their collective capacity, than it is to protect the reserved rights of the individual citizens, whose loyalty to its delegated powers it exacts. For this protection, to which, I conceive, the individual citizens are shown to be entitled as the plain (and the usual) correlative duty of the federal authority. I repeat, they ought not to be put off on a resort to the courts, until the legislative arm of protection has been first extended its full length by the federal legislature.

The author of the essay ranges himself, of course, in the class who contend that the territorial people are "perfectly free" in relation to their domestic institutions, including slavery, to ordain them as they please, but who concede, nevertheless, that in forming and regulating those institutions, such a people is "subject to the Constitution of the United States." Now, it cannot be denied that there is a wide difference—embracing many degrees—between perfect freedom and subjection. The attribute of freedom cannot co-exist with the disability of subjection, unless the latter impair the former. To assert, as the author of the essay does (p. 519), that a territo-

rial people are "perfectly free," and yet "subject" at the same time, must be seen by himself, on cool reflection, to be one of the instances in which he is himself, as he says (p. 527) others are often, deceived by names "in respect to the nature and substance of things." He does not specify to what extent they are subject. It may be that he would, on inquiry, admit that they are not free to incorporate into their constitution, any aristocratic or monarchical innovations; and if so, how will he show that they are kept back from such interpolations into our republican system, and not equally kept back from others no less invasive of, and in conflict with, other principles, on which the Federal Constitution was established, and in which its essential character of republican liberty consists. "Popular sovereignty," in the name of it, is so captivating, that in contemplating its abstract beauties, he has failed to see that its natural displays are veiled, though not disfigured or damaged, by the federal authority which surrounds it, and to which he himself says it is "subordinate." It is needless to define these words. It is well enough understood that "subject," "subordinate," "consistent," are words, all which he uses in the same relation, that import some amount of dissent from the idea of subjection to the Constitution of the United States, to which he confesses. How those expressions can be used and not be intended to impart some restriction, it would be curious and startling to discover, unless they are employed, which would be startling, indeed, for some purpose of deception, which it would be painful to suppose is the purpose.

Observe—it is not to their external relations, that the author of the essay declares (p. 529), that the people of the territories are "subject." He here specifies that he refers to "their domestic institutions"—their internal policy, in forming which he claims "they are perfectly free" to form them as they please, "subject only" (and, therefore, that they are *subject*) "to the Constitution of the United States."

As already stated, if he does not intend to deceive, which is not supposable, he does intend to admit that the territorial people are so subject to some extent in the formation and regulation of their internal polity. Their "polity," their "policy," their "domestic institutions," or whatever other term or terms appropriate, internal subjects of legislation may be designated by, excluding their external relations, can only have relation to persons or property.

First, of *persons*. Are the people of a territory, organized by act of Congress, "perfectly free" to be governed alone by

the uncontrollable will of the majority, to be ascertained, if the majority say so, by agents appointed by that majority in legislative conclave or conventional council, to wait on every voter, on any given subject, at his own house, and not to receive his vote, the vote of any one, elsewhere than at his house, with whatever delay, and at whatever cost to the government, which the people withal are to be taxed to pay? This would be perfect freedom, but not much like any constitutional liberty which we enjoy. Ten thousand governmental transactions might be supposed, displaying like perfect freedom of legislation, and no less inconsistent with our ideas of republican liberty, and in which the majority might indulge in respect to persons and their civil and political immunities, if the people of a territory or a new State were not subject to the Constitution of the United States, or some other power to which they must be subordinate and act consistently with. Or, can a territorial people, in legislative or conventional assembly, by the will of the majority in that body, expressly clothed with the authority to do this by their constituents, subject offenders to excessive bail or unusual and cruel punishments, or to trial for offences when not confronted with their accusers or witnesses? This would be "perfect freedom" in the majority to do as they please, in respect to *persons*, and in those particulars. And why may not any of those things, and ten thousand others no less inconsistent with our ideas of republican liberty, be done in respect to *persons* at the instigation of the will of a majority perfectly free "to form and regulate their *domestic institutions*" or *polity* "in their own way"? In our system, it is only because they are "subject to the Constitution of the United States," which guarantees republican forms of government to every territory or new State "throughout the dominion of the United States."

Second, of *property*. Can a territorial people, brought under the dominion of the United States, by an act of Congress organizing them, subject any inhabitant's goods or houses to seizure or search, at the pleasure of the majority regularly ascertained, or require one man to give his horse for another's mule, or his wagon and team for another's slave, or all, or only the rich of fifty thousands' worth of merchandise, to contribute, monthly, one per cent. to the support of an established church? They might, "if perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way." Fortunately, we think, they are not perfectly free, but "subject to the Constitution of the United States;" or, as the late resolutions of the

democracy of Massachusetts say, "under general principles of the Constitution."

Now, as to property, with which it is well enough known, in this utilitarian age, persons are very closely identified, why, in the nature and substance of things (as well as not those things referred to), is it that some other things may not be done?

First. What are some of those other things that may not be done by any people under the dominion of the United States, with "perfect freedom in forming their domestic institutions"? The one pertinent thing is not to deprive any person of his property, except by due process of law or for public use. If the territorial people are "perfectly free" to form their domestic institutions in their own way, as to property, after a pattern fashioned by the will of the majority in legislative or conventional council acting, then they may deprive any inhabitant of his slaves, or other property, for any other than the specified purposes, or either of them.

Secondly. Why not? In our system, alone, because such a people is subject to the Constitution of the United States. Not so fast, they tell me; for the Attorney-General of the United States says it is "universally agreed" that those provisions, that the citizen shall only be deprived of his property by due process of law, or for public use, only restrain the general government. He breaks the force of the interjected objection himself. In his next sentence he says: but we "are also protected against the State governments by similar provisions in the State constitutions." Nor is that all, nor the most of it, why the territorial people, in forming their institutions, in making their constitution to be a State, as soon as they are admitted as such, are not "perfectly free" to deprive any person of property belonging to him, except by due process of law, or for public use. The provisions, whether in the Federal Constitution or in the State constitutions, are only occasional expressions, very appropriately, of a fundamental principle—an indispensable postulate of civil liberty, as certainly as property is identified with persons in social happiness. It is the principle my doctrine claims. It is a principle which violence to property only can efface. It is a principle which despotism, alone, can disregard. The doctrine that it is the duty of the federal legislature to intervene in admitting a State, for the protection of property, which implies that it is intended to be injuriously interfered with, only asks that the citizens of the proposed new State in the Union, shall have the like protection

of their property by constitutional provisions similar to those in "the constitutions of the other States," which, in the strength of the principle those provisions express, ought to be in all, no less in those to come into the Union, than in every other one by whose united authority others are to be admitted. Let us have all the members concurrent with the federal head in so protecting property to persons who own it, that no one shall be divested, except by due process of law, or for the public use. That is all. Less than that is not enough. And it is the general government which the doctrine asks shall have that enough secured—and, by its legislative arm, to its full length. But, stop, says the distinguished author, the idea is a fallacy. "Congress may institute governments for the territories," and yet has no right to exercise any one class, or any one, of their powers. I beg to say, and it is no mere verbal criticism, that *Congress* can do no such thing—the federal legislature may institute territorial governments, but Congress by itself cannot. The President has a function to fill in doing the business. The federal legislature (he intends) has no power to restrain the temporary government which it has instituted. In the first place, it may be replied that the federal legislature, in organizing "the Territory of Orleans," did exercise all the power in respect to negro-slaves, which, it is claimed, ought, in every case, to be exercised by the same authority. It will scarcely be contended that a power may be exercised in instituting, which may not be, in superintending "a temporary government." That pretension would be aside of the question. The question is, has the federal power any authority to interpose in this behalf? The Senator says no: because every power conferred on Congress, must be exercised by Congress alone. It would be a waste of time to show that Congress, more than any other co-ordinate branch of the federal powers, may and must act by agents. It would be a waste of time to show that very many of the acts of its rightful authority, though such acts can be only initiated by itself, yet, without agents, cannot be carried into effect. "To declare war" is its only power, which it can execute without the help of agents. It is only the *inference* which the Senator evidently would have (and has ingeniously left to be) deduced from this part of his exposition, that needs to be antagonized for refutation. He seeks to have the reader infer that his (on p. 520) enumerated grants of power, are all the important powers granted to Congress, although he says "the list might be extended." For, surely, if he had stated that Congress has

all the powers which any government can have, "necessary and proper for carrying into effect the granted powers," his readers could not fail to see that the federal legislature, admittedly, having the power to "institute governments for the territories," has also the incidental power to have such governments rightly carried into effect. Then, we come back to the principal consideration, that it is the duty of Congress at any time, and at all times, to require that the great principle of the protection of property, which is expressed in the Federal Constitution, and the constitutions of the States in the Union, shall be also expressed in the constitution of every State yet to come into the republican family.

(Since writing the above, I have read the 5th No. of the *National Intelligencer*, on "the territorial question." I do not know that they are done, but they speak of this 5th as the last of this series. They commend the policy our fathers pursued, of exercising "the power according to the proprieties of time and place." But it must be noticed, and measured and weighed, that most of the legislation of our fathers, was during the existence of the "Missouri restriction." It must be remembered that that restriction was imposed where the extent of territory it disallowed "involuntary servitude" in, was, "as yet, unsettled." That restriction is removed. The question is, as to territory inhabited by white men owning negroes—as to Kansas, New-Mexico, the four States to be carved out of Texas—and not least, now that restriction is rescinded, as to the propriety and respectability of owning negroes in the States as a property; and, indeed, the question reaches to the *right* uninterfered with by "popular sovereignty," to hold slaves in the States. It is enough to say of the *Intelligencer's* view, that it invites back to an exploded policy. We want light on the pathway we are now walking in and jostling.)

The essay contains intimations, that though slavery, regarded only as a property, might be entitled to the intervention of the federal legislature to protect it, yet, as an institution, it is within the absolute control of the territorial people, when forming their constitution for admission as a State, to expel it—not to "confiscate" it—but to provide that as an institution or as a property, it shall cease to exist in the new State, on such terms as may be prescribed by the legislative authority, but with compensation to the owners, nevertheless. This view hinges on the word "institution." Let it be first defined. It is not necessary to look into the meaning of the word in all its uses. Its meaning, in this use of it, is enough; that

is, its meaning in American parlance and politics—and this is anything done by authority of government, or by enterprise of individuals acting in concert, or by a single individual, and intended to be permanent. It is admitted that slavery is sought to be established in the territories as an institution.

In February, 1858, the President of the United States, in communicating the Lecompton constitution to Congress, after quoting the opinion of the Supreme Court, that, "by virtue of the Constitution of the United States, slavery *existed* in Kansas," said, in that special message, that, "Kansas was, therefore, at that moment" (in his opinion, of course), "as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina." The author of the essay insists that the declaration, that slavery "exists" in Kansas by virtue of the Federal Constitution, is equivalent to, as though convertible with, the declaration that slavery is *established* there by virtue of that Constitution. The truth hinges on the idea which is conveyed by the word "exists." The negro is carried, as a slave, into Kansas, by his master, by authority of the Constitution, which gives to any citizen of every State equal privileges with any and all others; and so it is, that by that authority, slavery *exists* in Kansas. As property, it is entitled to the protection of law. The Constitution of the United States, and all laws "in pursuance thereof," and "not inapplicable," are, by the act by which the territory was organized, expressly made the *local* law. How can any pre-existing law, or at the time existing, *in conflict*, be now in force there? Yet, slavery is not, as yet, *established there as an institution*, because the master (*not his government*) may take him away, or may emancipate him to-morrow. Therefore, though slavery does *exist* there to-day, it is not as yet, an *institutional* existence. It is there by virtue of the Federal Constitution, only as a property. If there were no such constitutional provisions as have already been referred to, and which will be again presently specified, still the property would be in the potential protection of the fundamental principle on which free government, as contradistinguished from absolutism, is founded. Of that principle, the constitutional provisions (I now again specify) that no person shall be deprived of his property, except "by due process of law," or "with compensation, for public use," are only appropriate expressions, without which, the potentiality of the principle ought to exist and be observed by all civilized men and all regular governments. Yet, I repeat, slavery is only existing there, as a property. As such it was carried there, by the

voluntary act of the owner, and not by any coercion or institutional fiat of the government which was established and exists by the Constitution which gives permission to the master to introduce into Kansas the existence of slavery. It may be removed by him, at his will. If it become an institution, it will be the result of the permitted act to and of the owner. It will not have been established by any institutional act of the government, whose constitution is *the local law*, only affording protection of slavery as a property. And the logical constitutional conclusion is, that the only power any government, in our system, intelligible, though it is complex, has over the ownership of the property, except it be taken for debt, or for public use, is, in the words of the Supreme Court of the United States, "the power coupled with the duty of guarding and protecting the owner in his rights" of property; he, with others in the same right, individually, by virtue of the authority on them severally conferred, by the Constitution of the United States, having, in the territory, and in the new State, established *the institution*.

It is deemed not inappropriate in this reply, which hinges on the expression, in the Kansas act of 1854, that the territorial people must form their institutions, "subject to the Constitution of the United States," and which finds its strength, more in the principle than in that or any other occasional expression of it—to bring in aid of the reply, and as shedding light on the subject, a fact repellant of popular sovereignty in the territories over the ownership of slavery—a fact having *such* strength, not in its actual occurrence at the time of it, and, therefore, shedding such light, but in the essential nature of its having inherent relevancy to direct and explicit legislation, which, alone, is suitable to free government, and consistent with popular institutions, claiming the affectionate loyalty of the citizen. The significant fact is, that *to* the words, "subject only to the Constitution of the United States," as they are now found in the Kansas act, Senator Chase moved to add these words, to wit: "*under which the people of the territory, through their appropriate representatives, may, if they see fit, prohibit the existence of slavery therein;*" and the motion was negatived by a vote of thirty-six to ten, in the Senate of the United States. If it was intended, by the rejection, to deny that the power exists in the territorial people, "through their appropriate representatives," which means no less their delegates in convention to form a constitution, than their delegates in the territorial legislature,

then the doctrine has already been endorsed by the Senate, that it is in the competency of Congress to refuse to admit a territorial people as a State, under a constitution prohibiting among them the existence of slavery. If such prohibition, in the judgment of the Senate, is not within the constitutional competency of a territorial people, when forming a constitution to become a State, it is difficult to see why the Senate did not add an amendment, in lieu of that of Senator Chase, so as to define what they meant by "subject to the Constitution of the United States." If the amendment was rejected, and its converse was not proposed, on purpose to refer the rights of property in slaves, in the territory, to the decision of the courts, then it looks very much like intentional dodging of a legislative function, and referring its fulfilment, where it less belongs, if, indeed, it be not in this judicial sphere, where the laws are expounded, utterly inappropriate. In either view or any, it can only best be said for the Senate, that they have left it in doubt and disputation, what is meant by the expression "subject to the Constitution of the United States," in the Kansas act. It is submitted to the candid judgment of the country, that the expression does mean, in direct conflict with the views of the author and advocate of "popular sovereignty," that the incoming State must conform its constitution to the federal pattern, or be rejected if in conflict.

It has been said that these discussions of the territorial question, are mere speculations of no practical value. I have recently heard an eminent divine make a remark which is worthy of a record. The remark was, that it is often erroneously said, and by well-meaning and intelligent men, that controverted points in Christianity, are mere speculations, and so put aside. "Grave mistake that," he said; "for it is always, and at every point, of practical importance, to strive to inculcate, and to have a correct understanding of the Bible." The attribute of discussion, which never fails to give it practical attractiveness, is, that the discussion be conducted in the right spirit. And so it is of the political discussion in hand. A right understanding of the constitutional powers of our governments, whether State, territorial or federal, is ever practical, and if aimed at by discussions, conducted in the right spirit, would, very soon, be practicable.

ART. VI.—MACKAY'S TRAVELS IN AMERICA.

THE DUAL FORM OF LABOR.

[The following able article is from the pen of Wm. J. Grayson, of South Carolina, which has often adorned our pages. We take it from the October number of *Russell's Magazine*. It will be read advantageously, in connection with Mr. Fitzhugh's article on the same subject, which appeared in our November number.—Ed.]

THE Southern States receive annually, with their woollens and negro shoes, a large supply of morbid sentiment, volunteer advice, malignant abuse, and misplaced commiseration. The anti-slave producers of these commodities are indefatigable. A single fact will indicate their weight and influence in Southern opinion. While slavery is attacked, the slave rises in value. The property assailed, is estimated more and more highly every day. The confidence of the garrison steadily increases under the enemy's fire. The supposed sick man grows hourly stronger in spite of the evil prognostics and sinister practice of the doctor.

But although this fact is the most conclusive of answers, it may not be amiss to review the subject occasionally, to state the argument anew, to correct falsehood, and intimate to intermeddlers of all degrees and temper, that when no reply is made they must not construe careless or contemptuous silence into acquiescence or conviction.

For this reason, we offer to our readers a few remarks on the vital question of labor. We shall use without reserve the facts and reasonings of those who have gone before us. The topic admits of little novelty. Something perhaps in the mode of statement, nothing more. While doing this, we shall attempt to soothe the sorrows of a learned traveller, who lately mourned over us in prose and verse, and strive to convince him that his sympathies and sensibilities are somewhat superfluously expended in our country, and may find an ample field for exercise in his own; that other rivers besides the "Mississippi" are witnesses of the laboring man's griefs and privations; that even on the banks of the Thames, and within the limits of London, Dr. Mackay may find, if he pleases, evils more intolerable to humanity than any the negro in America has ever been forced to endure.

Philanthropy, like other fashions, has its cant and slang. Its finest dress is a flimsy rhetoric, which is getting seedy. It began with Mr. Clarkson. We are told by his biographer, that he took slavery as a subject for rhetorical exercise at school, and was so well pleased with its capabilities that he made it a standing topic for a lifelong declamation. What chance was there for fairness or moderation? How could he hope to escape exaggeration, distortion, injustice, falsehood? He makes slavery a monster, a new infernal machine, never before heard of in the world's history. It is, in truth, a form of labor only—one of the two forms of labor which have been known and used in all ages.

The laborers of the world may be distributed into two classes—hired men and bondsmen. These two classes have always existed, among all nations, under every form of civil government. They are essentially the same. They perform the same indispensable functions in the state, those of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Labor takes one or the other of these forms, according to circumstances of climate, productions, race. The evils and advantages of their conditions are similar. We will proceed to compare them.

The comparison may give offence to fastidious gentlemen, or to demagogues, in search of political capital. In reply to a speech of Mr. Hammond, in the Senate, Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts, was angry and indignant with our distinguished Senator, for asserting that the "mud sill" of society is essentially the same, whether the material be white or black.

The phrase "mud sill" is not elegant, perhaps, but it is very expressive. It indicates forcibly the two forms or classes of labor. In this country, these two forms are composed of different races and different colors—one of African, and the other of European descent. Negroes only, with us, are slaves. Hired men are whites. The negro is an inferior race. The black mud sill is not made from as good stuff as the white. This is admitted, and this is the ground of offence. But the inferiority of race being admitted, why may we not, for all that, compare the darker with the lighter colored? Moralists are accustomed to compare the highest condition of life with the lowest—the prince with the peasant—and to estimate their relative chances for happiness; why not weigh the good and ill attendant on the two humblest stations of society—on the hired man and the slave?

Is Mr. Banks offended, because the hired men of his constituents are compared to slaves? Why should he or they be offended? Both kinds of laborers are hard-working men. Both live by daily toil. All honest labor is entitled to reverence; that of the slave not less so than any other. Who despises it? Not the Supreme Judge, who is no respecter of persons, and weighs all alike in the same balances. Not right-thinking men, among whom the faithful slave has an *admitted* claim to all honor and respect, a far juster claim than his idle or profligate brother laborer, who may boast of his freedom. The honest slave is worthy to take any man by the hand. He is accustomed to be so received by slaveholders. It is not among *them* that contempt for the upright slave is the prevailing sentiment. The sentiment prevails among the professed friends of the slave, with sentimental travellers and clerical abolitionists and anti-slavery politicians, with Mr. Banks, especially, the mouth-piece of the sympathizing party.

But it is not by slaveholders only, that comparisons are made between hired laborers and slave laborers. The parallel is obvious to all eyes. It is seen among States of hired labor as plainly as in slave States. It is pointed at frequently by British journals, authors, and official reports.

The *Northern Times*, published at Liverpool, speaking there from one point of view, says: "We romance, we moralize, we actually weep over the tales of African suffering; but we cannot afford a passing thought to the *millions of white slaves* that constitute the masses of our laboring population; they are regarded as hewers of wood and drawers of water merely, and are treated accordingly. . . . Even philanthropy seems to look on them with indifference or contempt." Mr. Lewis (Monk Lewis), writing in Jamaica from the opposite point of view, declares that slavery in the West Indies, before the avater of Clarkson and Wilberforce, was "but another name for servitude, as it exists in England." In the "Sanitary Reports," got up by authority in England, Mr. Wood compares the squalor, filth, and want of decency, prevalent among English laborers, not to the condition of slaves, but to that of the *monkey-house* in the Zoological Gardens. The wigwams of Indians, he adds, are palaces, compared with the hovels of laborers in the mining country of England.

If this be the testimony of respectable papers, authors and men, appointed by authority to scrutinize and report, may we not venture to estimate, also, the relative evils and advantages of hired men and bondsmen? Let us compare them in their dwellings, their food, their morals, their intellectual progress, in whatever evil or good is incident to the lot of each. And first, in their dwellings.

The slave is never without a home. Every family has its cabin, coarse but comfortable, never filthy, never offensive. They have the cottager's comforts—poultry, eggs, a pig, a garden. The slave uses the wood of his master's forest without stint. He is never without clothes. What, on the other hand, is the hired man's condition in Europe? According to the "Sanitary Reports," the dwellings of the laboring man, in parts of England, are "unfit for swine;" puddles of water lie on earthen floors; forty persons live in one room; father, mother, grown-up sons and daughters, sometimes eight in number, sleep in one bed; all delicacy and decorum are lost; the smell from the hovels is intolerable to strangers. In many hamlets and towns, the consequences, typhus, scarlet fever, small-pox, are never absent; the royal town of Windsor being the worst of all. In the cities, as we are told by the same authority, if empty casks are left in the streets during the night, they are occupied each by a tenant before morning. According to the last English census, thirty thousand persons in England are without habitations. Mr. Osborne, a clergyman of the Church of England, in a letter to the *London Times*, says the exodus of the Irish is caused by the cruelty of the landlords. Their evictions make the starving homeless. Hugh Miller, in his *Autobiography*, laments the demoralization of the Scotch laborers in the last fifty years, and ascribes it to the expulsion of the people from their rural homes, and their being obliged to herd in boothies, barracks, and other temporary habitations. They have been deprived of homes and of home influences.

So much for the dwellings of the hired laborer. How runs the parallel in a still more important article, that of food?

No slave starves to death. Such an event is unknown. The hired man is never safe from starvation. Beach, in his travels in France, says: "No law stands between the ruined laborer and starvation; he has no right to live, unless he can support himself." "Irish whites," Carlyle declares, "have been long emancipated, and nobody asks them to work, or *permits* them to work, on condition of finding them potatoes." In *London Labor and Poor*, we are told of persons subsisting for days on the offal of the markets, streets, and gutters—on orange peel, old cabbage stumps, anything they could pick up. "Oh, sir," said a mother, "it is hard to work from morning until night—little ones and all—and not be able to live by it either." In the great cities of England and the Northern States death from starvation is not an uncommon occurrence, to say nothing of periods, like the famine in Ireland, when in huts, fields, and highways, hundreds perished for want of food. It is well known that women are often compelled to prostitute themselves for bread. Especially is this true in times of commercial embarrassment. In slave States, the master finds food for his people at every sacrifice. The slave is at no time afraid of being without bread. *It never costs him a thought.* He is not only "permitted to work," on condition of being supplied with potatoes or corn, but he is secure of having them, whether able to work or not. In infancy, sickness, old age, he is sure of a home and support. These are the certain returns of his labor. He is troubled with no anxieties.

So far, then, as physical condition and life's necessities are concerned, the slave need not shun a comparison with his brother laborer, who receives compensation for work in a different way. Indeed, this is so true, that no voracious traveller attempts to deny it. Dr. Mackay himself says the slaveholder "can easily prove that, as a rule, slaves are better clad, fed, and cared for, than the agricultural laborers of Europe, or the slop seamstresses of London or Liverpool." But he complains that slaveholders are not doing more for what he calls their "*human cattle*." Why they should be expected to do more for their laborers than London for her seamstresses, is not very clear. We are left to infer that the hired laborer, although living in a cask, on garbage picked up in the market-place, is more fortunate, *in some other respects*, than the slave! The traveller, with a fragrant cigar in his mouth, and a glass of sparkling Catawba in his hand, disdains mere creature comforts. He occupies "higher ground." He looks to the moral and intellectual nature and condition of the laboring masses—of the three millions of paupers in England, and the thirty thousand needle-women in London, who are compelled sometimes by hunger to resort to prostitution. Let us therefore compare the moral and intellectual condition of the slave with that of the hired laborer, and determine who occupies the highest place on this "higher ground."

We hear of the lax morals of slaves, the looseness of the marriage tie, the want of chastity, and the general absence of moral principles among them.

It is well known that forms of marriage vary in various places. They are very simple with negroes; as simple as they have been in Scotland, where the mere consent of parties was held to be enough. They are marriages of custom, which is law. Those performed by a magistrate have almost as little formality. Negro marriages are not the less enduring from their lack of form. They usually last for life. We do not believe that the severance of the marriage tie among slaves is more frequent, from whatever cause, than it is from various circumstances, in other quarters.

The chastity of the negro race is not remarkable. Young females are loose in their conduct, it is admitted; but they will bear comparison, nevertheless, with hired laborers. In the "Sanitary Reports," a witness says of a particular parish: "I believe this parish to be fearfully demoralized. It is said that twenty years ago, there was not one young female cottager of virtuous character." At an inquest held in Leeds, as stated in a Leeds paper, "it was asserted by the coroner, and assented to by the surgeon as probable, that three hundred infants, in Leeds alone, were put to death every year, to avoid the consequences of their living, and the murderers are never discovered." The mass of pollution reeking with all the vices and diseases attendant on prostitution, exhibited to curious eyes in portions of the great Northern and European cities, is too horrible to describe. Words that would adequately paint it, would be unfit to be spoken before even the vilest profligate.

The general morals are no better. The *Westminster Review* says of the masses in England, "as regards depravity, brutality, and crime, they are no way superior to the worst population in any other country." In 1846, the number, in England, whipped, fined, and discharged, was two thousand four hundred and sixty-eight, to say nothing of other punishments. She is at a loss for colonies to receive her felons. Whips, chains, jails, halberds, convict ships, are in constant requisition. In New-York, the most atrocious crimes are constantly committed. Every hour brings its scandalous chronicle; every day proclaims a murder. On the other hand, it may be confidently asserted, that there are fewer crimes among the slaves of the Southern States than among the laboring class of any people in the world. The reason is obvious. Every master is a conservator of the peace and of good morals. He is deeply interested in their preservation. No police can be as efficient as he is in the prevention of vice, in the suppression of idleness and drunkenness especially,—the fruitful source of so many crimes.

If from morals we pass on to the topic of intellectual improvement, or of education in its simplest forms, those of reading and writing, we shall discover no very serious difference in the attainments of the hired man and the bondsman.

It is imputed to the slaveholder, that he will not permit his slave to learn. There is nothing to prevent the slave from learning. If laws exist prohibiting it, these laws are obsolete. Thousands of slaves read their bibles and hymn-books, and are taught in the families to which they belong. But suppose the ignorance to be unbroken, and that not one slave can read a sentence, or write his name. In this, also, the parallel will hold good between hired men and bondsmen. The Review already quoted says, "one-half of the people of Great Britain can neither read nor write." In the one hundred and forty-one thousand registered marriages of the year, nearly one half of the parties could not write their names. Mr. Alison asserts that in France "two thirds of the people can neither read nor write." It seems, then, that the white laborers of England and France are no better instructed than the black slaves of America. After so many centuries of freedom, in countries of the highest civilization, the hired man, Saxon or Celt, knows no more than the bondsman, who was yesterday a barbarian in Africa. The last excites the profound sympathy of the Englishman—the first no sympathy at all.

The facts relating to the condition of the European laborer are from British authorities. We have given a few only; they may be multiplied a thousand-fold from the same source. A few are enough to prove that so far as concerns their habitations, food, morals, and ability to read or write, the comparison with the white hired man is not disadvantageous to the negro bondsman.

But this is not all. There are radical defects in the system of hired labor, which seem to defy every effort to remedy them. There are numbers of laborers who will not work—there are numbers who cannot work. For these two classes no adequate provision is made, or perhaps can be made. There is no mode by which the thousands of idlers, tramps, smugglers, thieves, drunkards, poachers, can be fixed to honest labor. They are an injury, not a help, to society. There is no sufficient support for the helpless, the sick, the old, the infirm. They suffer accordingly. For these defects and evils, no sagacity has devised a remedy. In a slave population there are no idlers, tramps, smugglers, poachers, drunkards, who live to drink, or thieves who live by stealing. An occasional runaway is the only approach to them. There are no helpless persons without support. Every one is made to work, and no one is suffered to starve. There are no slave paupers, therefore, in slave States. The paupers there are, for the most part, the hired men of other countries, who have abandoned their native homes. In those countries, pauperism began when serfage was abolished. Hitherto no cure has been devised for the radical deficiencies of the hired labor system. The socialists have failed. The statesman is at fault. The future presents no better prospect.

But, suppose it be admitted that, in spite of all the defects, the system of money wages for labor is better than subsistence among a superior race; it will not follow that they are better for an inferior

one. Whatever may be true of the Saxon or Celts, slavery is the only system of labor that suits the lazy and improvident negro. Experience is forcing this truth on the convictions of the English people. Their experiment has been a costly one. The result is total disappointment. It was confidently asserted by enthusiasts, who knew nothing of the negro, that if manumitted he would do more work than before; it turns out that he does no work at all.

"*The freed West Indian negro will not till the soil for wages.*" The Englishman has sunk his thousands and tens of thousands on mills and machinery, and the languishing estates return beggary and debts." The negro "eats his yams and sniggers at the buckra."

"The freed negro not only detests, but despises honest, steady industry." This is what the *London Times* has lately said. Is it not time for the British Parliament to inquire, by a committee, into the differences between ruined Jamaica and prosperous Cuba, and into the causes of the differences? They can never get back their millions, but they may learn something valuable from the loss of so much money, "distilled from the brain and muscles of the free English laborer of every degree."*

It is not England alone who has been involved in terrible losses by the folly and madness of rulers. With France as well as Great Britain, there is much to be undone of former counsels. The wealthiest and most flourishing of European colonies, seventy years ago the gem of French commerce, is now the haunt of revolted slaves and black barbarians—a blotch on the world's civilization, and a stain on the honor of France. The ungenerous interference of England, seeking advantage in her neighbor's calamities, precipitated the evil. After snatching in vain at the fairest possessions of the French people, and contributing to its loss, English societies, of which Clarkson and Wilberforce were lights and leaders, declared that the insurgent slaves were excusable in inflicting "*the most exquisite tortures*" on their former masters. Why are the vestiges of this wrong and insult suffered to remain uneffaced? Why are the armies and navy of the Emperor of the French sent to defend supposed interests in the Crimea, or to protect Northern Italy, or to extend the desert limits of Algeria, or to re-assert old claims in Cochin China, and punish her for a murdered missionary, while the loveliest of islands, the most valuable ancient colony of France, is left unreclaimed, and the blood of French women and children unavenged on its soil? What incalculable advantages would this magnificent island bestow on the commerce of France, on the industry of her people, on the navy which is so sedulously cared for, by affording a field of enterprise for her youth, a source of wealth for her merchants, a nursery of seamen for her ships. To possess a navy requires a commercial marine. In 1790, St. Domingo afforded employment to near seven hundred French ships, averaging three hundred and twenty-five tons, and em-

* *London Times.*

ploying fifteen thousand seamen. Her exports amounted to nearly twenty-five million dollars. She had eight hundred sugar plantations, and more than eight thousand of cotton, coffee, and indigo. Her soil was so fertile, her advantages of irrigation so great, that she produced two thirds more to the acre than the English island, Jamaica. She was beyond all comparison the most prosperous colony in the world, and immense resources remained yet undeveloped. Her wealth has disappeared; the wilderness has resumed its former place, and savages are suffered to occupy her rich plains and valleys, and to prevent their cultivation, while France looks on and makes no sign. Carlyle declares, in his emphatic way, that the world will not permit Cuffee to lie on his back for ever, and eat pumpkins in fields intended by nature to produce luxuries for the whole world. If France continues apathetic, some other power will, in time, interfere, and restore wealth, civilization, and refinement, to the noblest of the Antilles.

But, to return to our argument: although it may be proven that the negro slave is better "fed, clad, and cared for," than the hired laborer; that he is as moral or more so; that if young female slaves have illegitimate children, they do not resort to the murder of their infants to avoid the consequences; that the black slave reads and writes as well as the *white slaves* of Great Britain, as they are called by the *Northern Times* of Liverpool; that the slave system assures him all this; it weighs nothing with the abolitionist. He has an answer ready—the negro slaves are "human cattle." A contemptuous term for the negro is the abolitionist's chosen reply. We need not wonder at the contempt cast upon the black slave, since the *Times* assures us the *white slave* is treated with the same scorn, if not called by the same name, by the same parties in England. But why "human cattle"? If well fed, clad, cared for, as moral, as well taught, as the hired man, why are slaves "human cattle," in the estimation and language of the opponent of slavery? What is the cause of the contemptuous rhetoric so freely bestowed on the humble slave by his self-appointed advocates? Is anything yet wanting to place him in a condition as favorable as that of the hired laborer? Yes, it is replied, he is liable to be sold from plantation to plantation. This is the master evil that sinks the slave into a worse situation than his brother laborer's, and subjects him to the contemptuous pity of the gentle philanthropist of Europe and America—this makes him "human cattle" and a "chattel laborer."

In the sale of slaves nothing but labor is transferred. It passes from master to master, as it passes, in countries of hired labor, from employer to employer. The mode in which the transfer is made differs in the two systems of labor. The slave laborer is never compelled to hunt for work and starve till he finds it. Is this an evil to the laborer? Would it be thought an evil, by the hired man in Europe, that his employer should be obliged, by law, to find him another employer before dismissing him from service?

It is what the socialist is striving to accomplish. The labor of the slave is sold by one master to another; the labor of the hired man is sold by himself. He gets no more for his work than the slave gets—subsistence. He gets no more than this when he is able to find a purchaser for his labor. But what, when he is not able? Labor gives subsistence to the laborer, nothing more. The labor of the slave is sold by another, and his subsistence is certain; the labor of the hired man is sold by himself, and his subsistence is uncertain. The employment of the one is sure, that of the other precarious. Which is the better condition of the two?

The greater permanency of the relation between master and slave is in itself an advantage. It produces kindlier feelings from one to the other. It draws closer the bonds of union. It removes what Stuart Mill calls "the widening and embittering feud between the class of labor and the class of capital." It identifies their interests. There is no hostile sentiment between the negro slave and his master; there never has been, but from the outside influence of ignorant or malignant philanthropists. Slaves rarely run to the North except when seduced and deceived. And when there are often glad to get back to their masters and slavery.

But, it is said, the slave is too much exposed to the master's abuse of power; he is liable to wrongs without a remedy; and, so far, his condition is below that of the hired laborer.

If this be true at all, it is true as regards the able-bodied hired man only. But take into the account children and women, those for example, that work naked in coal mines, or wives whose sufferings from the brutal treatment of husbands daily fill the reports of police courts; take these into the reckoning and the difference in the consequences of abused power will be very small. The negro slave is as thoroughly protected as any laborer in Europe. He is protected from every other man's wrong-doing by the ready interference of his master; he is guarded from the master's abuse by the laws of the land, and a vigilant, earnest public opinion. Let all cruelty be punished; let all abuse of power be restrained; but to abolish the relation of master and slave, because there are bad masters and ill-treated slaves, would not be a whit wiser than to abolish marriage, because there are brutal husbands and murdered wives.

Yet, surely, it will be said, it must be admitted, after all, that slavery is an evil. Yes, certainly, it is an evil; but in the same sense only in which servitude or hired labor is an evil. To gain one's bread by the sweat of one's brow, is a curse. But it is a curse attended with a blessing. It is an evil which shuts out a greater evil.

"Withouten that would come a heavier bale,
Loose life, unruly passions, and disease-pale."

Labor for wages, labor for subsistence, and subjection to the authority of employer or master are the conditions on which alone the laboring masses, white or black, can live, with advantage to them-

selves or the State. In the case of the negro slave, it is essential to his well-being to continue subject to the rule under which he lives, not only for the reason that affects the hired man—to escape loose life and its consequences—but, for another and a stronger inducement. Slavery is essential to his existence. Manumission would destroy him. An inferior race must perish when made by position antagonists to a stronger one. It is idle to quarrel with the laws of nature. The fact is as stated. The two races never amalgamate, notwithstanding the sneer about cohabitation, which our late traveller is coarse enough to repeat. The feeble race will die out. Let there be peace or war, the result is equally certain. In friendly Pennsylvania, and in the land of "Miles Standish, the Puritan Captain," the end is the same. The red man has disappeared. Such will be the fate of the negro, if he is set free. The manumitted slaves of New-York have vanished from the country. The free blacks of New-England are not increasing, notwithstanding the thousands of runaways and enfranchised that yearly overflow her borders. Stop the immigration and the blacks would disappear. In Australia, at the Cape, wherever the white can establish himself, the black man is annihilated. Nothing but the climate saves him in Congo or Guinea. Slavery protects the negro from a position of antagonism to the Caucasian race, and slavery alone can protect him where climate does not.

Do the foolish intermeddlers with the slavery of the South pretend to devise any scheme for escaping this monstrous result of the manumission they are recommending? How dumb they would be on the subject, if it were a condition that they should propose their new law with a halter about their necks, and be hanged, should they offer no rational mode by which the accomplishment of their own purpose can be brought about. When staggered by the difficulty, when driven from their rhetorical common-places, now worn thread-bare from half a century's use, they murmur some platitude, like that in a late review of Nott's book, some sentimental no-meaning, on the ideality of freedom. The ideality of freedom may be something to a gentleman concocting an article for a Review, with a consideration in prospect; but what is it to a man who lives on offal picked up in the gutter, or to the wretched needlewoman, who flies to the Thames to get away from hunger and infamy?

With all travellers that visit the Southern States, this subject of slavery is one profoundly interesting. The sentiment assumes various shapes—pity, indignation, censure, disgusted sensibility, vague prophecies of evil to come, and mournful sympathies in future sorrows. The worthy gentlemen see nothing to commend. They never doubt. Crude counsels in other men's matters are always on their lips. Most prominent among these volunteer advisers is the British traveller. His arrogance is insufferable everywhere. With his American cousins it is rampant and without measure. He is never wrong, no matter how contradictory his opinions. At one time he advocates restric-

tion, at another, free trade ; one year he makes slaves for the whole world, the next, he would abolish slavery in all places. He exterminates one black race in Australia, and pampers another in Jamaica. East or West, slaying or petting, he is equally in the right. No amount of blundering ever disturbs his self-complacency. He has ruined his finest colony by changing efficient slaves to lazy free negroes, and obstinately insists that other people shall follow his example. Like *Æsop's* fox, who lost his tail in some silly adventure, and strove to persuade his neighbors to cut off theirs, because they were a trouble and deformity, our English cousin, with Jamaica in view, is gravely assuring us that negro slaves are a source of unimaginable woes to all who own them, and we should turn them loose with all possible speed. But there is this difference : It is not craft in our worthy friend ; it is a stolid conviction that he is right in all things, and everybody else in error. He can't help it. 'Tis his nature. Drive it out with a pitchfork, it will return, times without number.

Of this tailless council, Charles Mackay, with the substituted appendages of LL. D., and F. S. A., is the latest and most urgent adviser, a mourner over present evils in the Southern States, and a prophet of sorrows to come. Like all who have preceded him, he is not content to say nothing when he has nothing to say. He must serve up to the public a portion from the favorite dish. He makes a voyage down the Mississippi, and travels by railway through Charleston northward, and is fully able to pass judgment on the past, present, and future effects of negro-slavery. He falls, accordingly, into much affected sentiment and crude speculation. We will give a few examples.

Dr. Mackay enriches his volume with a poetic narrative of his voyage down the "*Mississipp*." He says, the diminutive is one of affection used by the people of the country. He will pardon us for doubting. Like that other curtailment to which we have alluded as proposed for a purpose, it seems a crafty docking rather of a long-tailed word to serve the exigences of his rhyme. In that capacity, it does yeoman service with the "gallant ship," the "lazy ship," the "trusty ship," the "panting ship," the "creaking ship," and so on. But we have no design to intrude into the mysteries of the Poet's art. We intend to deal with the traveller's maudlin sentiment only. In the eighth stanza, they received a number of slave passengers at Memphis. Dr. Mackay forthwith becomes hysterical. He calls them "a cargo of miserable men, bought and sold, like hogs or sheep, or poultry," "the living blood for gold." He is seized with horror and "pity strong," and fears.

"A curse might fall upon us for suffering the wrong,
A curse upon the cargo, a curse upon the ship.
Panting, meaning, groaning, down the *Mississipp*."

The slaves were laborers going from a poor plantation to a better one. They were going to work ; not to be eaten like swine or poul-

try, as our poetical traveller seems half disposed to suggest. If Dr-Mackay were looking on ragged Irish laborers crossing the channel in all weathers in pursuit of work, exposed to the ship-master's brutal treatment, resulting once, we remember, in the suffocation of a number, from the hatches being forcibly shut down on them in a gale of wind, or if he had in his eye a passenger ship in Liverpool, bound for America, with crowds destined to be decimated on the passage, or a "cargo" of coolies on a voyage of ten thousand miles, with a loss of one third of their number, he would find nothing in the sight to ruffle his composure. They are free laborers. They may die like dogs. Call them slaves, though in no danger, wanting nothing, suffering nothing, and the traveller becomes as nervous as a boarding-school miss in her first love adventure. He refuses to be comforted. Although, in a succeeding stanza, he tells us the slaves are "happier than the free," "with the guitar and banjo and burst of revelry," and he hears in the "joyous ship" the "*nigger* chorus," the "volleyed laughter," the "merry shout," as they go *dancing* down the "Mississipp," although all this jollity is ringing in his ears, he is still profoundly melancholy. The merriment proves the misery. He considers the strapping, rollicking, woolly heads, as lambs, forlorn and shorn, who have the winds tempered to their sufferings, and are made merry by Providence, in spite of their unhappy and deplorable condition. We doubt if English literature affords anything more exquisitely ridiculous than comparing, in the midst of his jollity, a six-foot Mississippi negro, or "*nigger*," as our friend prefers to call him, to a forlorn lamb, shorn and not shivering, because a special Providence interposes to prevent it.

On another occasion, Dr. Mackay enters a slave mart in New-Orleans. It is clear and comfortable. The negroes are cheerful and anxious to be sold; like hired men, they seek to be employed. But the sensitive traveller is so much overcome with the scene, that he rushes out for fresh air. He has just arrived with lungs and sensibilities undisturbed, from the boothies and hovels of English laborers, "unfit for swine," where forty sleep in one room; where the stench is intolerable to strangers; where the filth is compared by British authorities to that of a monkey-house—he comes direct from these abominations, with no trace of them on heart or memory, to wring his hands over the clean, comfortable, contented condition of the American slave. The *ideality of freedom* is a full compensation for all differences with the man of poetic sentiment. Is it any to the hired laborer who is starving? The truth is, and we must say so, in justice to Dr. Mackay's common sense, the feelings expressed are false and hollow from beginning to end. He had no fear of a "curse for suffering the wrong." The sentiment was all simulated, put on like a dress-coat, for company and show. It is the mere cant of anti-slavery; sheer affectation only assumed for a certain latitude.

The foregoing may serve as samples of affected sentiment; we will turn to one or two of crude speculation. Mr. Calhoun, he tells

us, *first enunciated the dogma*, that to constitute a democratic Republic there must be an aristocracy of color and race. The maxim of Mr. Calhoun is, that a democratic government cannot exist unless the laboring class be slaves; that if the man who has nothing is allowed to rule, there can be no safety for property—property would soon be voted robbery. A democracy, therefore, must consist of freemen and slaves. This is the substance of the *dogma*. It is not a new thing, but is two thousand years old. So far from being "*first enunciated*" by Mr. Calhoun, it is as ancient as Aristotle. In his "*politics*"—which should be a text book in all Southern colleges—in words as clear and emphatic as language can furnish, he lays down the maxim, that a *complete household or community is one composed of freemen and slaves*. He was writing to democracies. He maintains, also, that the slaves should be barbarians, not Greeks, as Mr. Calhoun now holds it to be an advantage, that the slaves of the South are negroes, a barbarian race sufficiently strong and docile for labor. The whole proposition, both as to slavery itself and the race of the slave, is distinctly stated by the Greek philosopher. Our learned traveller assuming that it was a new heresy, runs off into long speculations on the influence of the *dogma* on the minds of the Southern people. It has produced singular effects. One of these, as he thinks, is the belief, that a peculiar odor exhales from the negro. The traveller doubts the existence of it. He assigns the best of all reasons, for the doubt; it is not perceptible to the traveller's nose. Of things not perceived by themselves and not existing, the reason is always the same with our British friends.

In another vague theory, he speculates on the causes that have prevented the Southern States from advancing in literature.

Fifty years ago, critics and philosophers indulged in similar inquiries in reference to the whole Union; New-England was not excepted. Numerous reasons were assigned by the European inquirer, why there was no growth of letters in America. The climate, the government, the degeneracy of the race, the hunting after dollars, explained the deficiency. But the reasoners had hardly settled the matter satisfactorily, when a few years overturned their arguments, and proved that advancement in knowledge or progress in book-making was merely a question of time. Many centuries elapsed before England produced a writer of eminence. Germany had no literature a hundred years ago. The rise and growth of letters have been more rapid in America than in any other nation. But the true solution of the question in relation to the country as a whole, had barely been made by time and recognized by the world, when the same kind of inquiry began again, with the same gravity, in reference to a portion of the Republic. It is admitted they now say, that the Northern people write books; but why, it is solemnly asked, is there no literature in the Southern States? Why have they no poets, historians, novelists, critics, or philosophers? Our traveller informs us that the people of the South are aware of the deficiency, but not of the cause. He

modestly volunteers to explain it. The most amusing part of the farce is, that our New-England brethren, who were but yesterday the angry objects of Sydney Smith's sneer, are to-day repeating it with ludicrous self-complacency, at the expense of those whose career will be only a little later, from obvious causes, than their own. They bark in couples, with Sydney's successors. They are not able to see that, as with themselves, so with the South, it is a mere question of time. Admitting all the deficiencies they may choose to impute, she will not be long behind them. The progress of education has been rapid in the Southern States during the last twenty years. This is the seed-time; the harvest is not remote. That the genius is there, is sufficiently proved by the admitted success of the South in one or two departments of intellectual exertion. Dr. Johnson defines genius to be large general powers of mind accidentally directed to any particular department. The powers which have made Southern statesmen and orators illustrious, will, by-and-by, be diverted, in part, to other objects. This is, we believe, the true solution of the whole matter. There is no other. We bide our time, are not impatient, and laugh at cavillers and soothsayers.

Our traveller offers another solution. There are no poets, novelists, historians, essayists, philosophers, in the Southern States, because there are slaves. Why should there be orators and statesmen? Does it require an inferior order of mind to form them? or is there some ingredient in slavery which is favorable to the formation of one mode of intellect, though adverse to others? Is there anything in the world's history to sustain such an opinion? Have letters flourished in those States only in which there were no slaves? Quite the reverse. The people most illustrious in the annals of nations for the cultivation of art, in all its forms, who have left models in every department of poetry, in history, in oratory, in philosophy—the people who have given literature to the world which, but for them, might still be without it—these people were slaveholders, and the state among them most distinguished for science and arts, was the greatest slaveholder of them all. In the Athenian republic, when the freemen were thirty thousand, the number of slaves was four hundred thousand. Individuals owned a thousand. The father of Demosthenes had thirty engaged as mechanics in one business. The slaves employed in mines were worked in chains. If any traveller, like our worthy English friend, had gone among them, he might have seen things even more oppressive to his lungs than the slave mart of New-Orleans. We have not been able to discover whether women and children were compelled to labor, stripped of all clothing, in the mines of Attica, as they are, or lately have been, in the coal mines of England; but there was, without doubt, slavery enough to induce our supposed traveller to conclude confidently that there could be no science or art consistently with his theory, in the city of Minerva. He might have required a visit to the theatre and a tragedy of Euripides, or a view of the Acropolis, or an introduction to the studio

of Phidias or Apelles, to disabuse his mind of the whimsical notion that the arts cannot flourish where slavery exists. It will be seen that we have not controverted the assertions of the traveller in reference to the lack of mental cultivation in the Southern States. Our present purpose is not to vindicate the literary claims of the South, but to expose the shallow sophistries of the critic. To do this more effectually, we concede all his premises and take his facts as he chooses to make them.

As slavery forbids the growth of letters in the South, so also it prevents success in any other pursuit. Our traveller enlarges on the superior condition of the Northern States; their cultivated lands are larger, their forests more subdued, their advancement in every respect vastly greater. The Southern people have no enterprise, no energy; their fields are badly tilled, their railroads ill managed, their country overspread with trees. He looks through the spectacles of anti-slavery and sees everything distorted and amiss. The difference is easy to explain. The North began with a larger population and a smaller extent of country. They have received from Europe six million emigrants in fifty years, with a large amount of capital and skill. The legislature of the Union has been shaped to favor and foster their navigation interest, fisheries, and manufactories. The South has wrought out her fortunes by her own unassisted efforts. Yet the first canal—from the Santee to the Ashley—was dug at the South; the first railroad of any length—from Charleston to Augusta—was built at the South; the greatest agricultural triumph of modern times—that of adding a new product to the commerce of the world, of incalculable value—has been achieved at the South, by Southern slaveholders. This new article given to the comforts of mankind, is worth one hundred and eighty millions of dollars in the planters' hands. It gives employment and support to millions in other regions. It is the product of slave labor, like the sugar of Cuba and the coffee of Brazil. The energy and capital of England have been applied, with feverish anxiety, in every quarter of the globe, to contend with the Southern slaveholder, but in vain. Southern cotton continues to be the life of English manufactures. The agriculture of our tide rice lands and Sea Islands is skilfully conducted. But suppose it to be otherwise, and all as bad or slovenly as our British observer declares it to be—there is nothing in this to oblige him to resort to his standing diagnosis for all social diseases in the Southern States. The laborers of the South were, but yesterday, savages in Africa. It requires numerous generations to produce intelligent laborers. Many centuries elapsed in Europe before skilful hired men were formed. Arthur Young, in his agricultural tour in France, about the beginning of the revolution in that country, applies remarks to French agriculture, similar to those bestowed on the South. Miss Edgeworth tells amusing stories of Irish farming. The political economist knows that where there is much land and little labor, there will be rough cultivation. It is the scarcity of land, the den,

sity of population, that produces, for the most part, a nice attention to the careful cultivation of the soil—as we see in England, Belgium, and Northern Italy. The English philosopher accounts for everything by one cause. He sees too much wood in Georgia, and ascribes it to her holding slaves. He forgets that Georgia is as extensive as England, and contained, within the memory of living men, but eighty thousand inhabitants, slaves included. The too much forest, like the too little learning, is caused by slavery alone, in the opinion of this sagacious observer. The management of Southern railroads is said to be bad, but we have no wholesale murders. No passenger has lost life on the oldest road. Its stock is among the very few at par.

Our traveller is not content with looking around now and finding all barren from Dan to Beersheba, in the Southern States, but he peers into the future and “guesses and fears” for them. The people of the South, he thinks, are “blinded, by education and habits and supposed self-interest,” to the evils and horrors of their situation: and he, understanding their interest better than themselves, and exempted by the “atmosphere” of England from all *prejudice and blindness*, kindly undertakes to put them on their guard. He makes a calculation by which he satisfies himself, that, *some time or other*, the blacks of the slave States will outnumber the whites, and then he predicts the deluge. But in the ancient slaveholding States the slaves outnumbered the freemen, five or ten to one, as calculations vary. In South Carolina the negroes have been more numerous than the whites for fifty years. In all the lower country of the South, the slaves are five or six fold more in number than the masters. There is not a company of regular soldiers from the seaboard to the mountains. On certain plantations there are a thousand negroes under the charge of one white man. Yet there is no apprehension. This may be the consequence of “blindness.” But we have no emeutes. In ancient Attica the four hundred thousand slaves produced much good, but little evil to the thirty thousand freemen. They never gave occasion to any serious disturbance. We apprehend nothing except from the foolish or malignant interference of outsiders. *They* can do mischief anywhere. How long would the mills of Manchester, or the workshops of Birmingham, or the banks of London and Paris, be safe, if all troops were removed, and cunning and knavish demagogues whispered seductive lies, day after day, in the ears of the “white slaves” that constitute the laboring masses?

The traveller thinks that the people at the South fear discussion. He is mistaken. They fear the secret machinations of factious demagogues only, or the wanton, mischievous interference of self-complacent foreigners. He admits that the planters are willing to give every opportunity for investigation. We think he overstates the matter when he says there is “universal anxiety” to do so. There is universal readiness. When an Englishman especially, comes

among them with the character and claims of a gentleman, they think it a part of the courtesy due to him, to offer opportunities for investigating a subject which is occupying his mind evidently more than any other. Of this he may be assured always, that the attentions of his entertainers in this matter proceed from no desire to defend themselves from any supposed belief of his, that they murder or maim their slaves. This is the motive suggested by Dr. Mackay. Such a belief on the traveller's part might exclude him from the society of Southern gentlemen; it certainly would not conciliate their attentions. What is done for the traveller, is for *his* information, not for the slaveholder's defence. Whether the opportunities so presented are ever candidly used, may be well doubted. The traveller is alive to whatever may confirm his preconceived opinions; he is blind to everything else. What he is compelled to see and admit produces no effect. He answers facts with a phrase, and puts by conviction with a sneer.

The author of *Life and Liberty in America* is as fair, perhaps, as can be expected. But as his countrymen are noted all over Europe for being more accustomed to dogmatize than to examine, it should not be surprising if our travelling Doctor of Laws is not altogether free from the national failing. To misapprehend and misrepresent an argument is a natural consequence of this supercilious humor. We will furnish an example. Dr. Mackay professes to give an account of a pro-slavery answer he had met with to an English Review. The *Westminster Review*, as he tell us, "cited, among other objections to slavery, that it demoralizes the slave-owner far more than the slave, and that slavery was to be condemned for the same reason that induced Parliament to pass a law against cruelty to animals." A pro-slavery writer, he continues, replied by saying, "Very true, but did the British legislature go so far in their zeal as to decree the manumission of horses?" And, as if this was a triumphant answer to all objections, the pro-slavery writer, he says, leaves the Reviewer "with no farther reply."

We have been enabled by a friend to lay our hands on the pro-slavery argument, and on the article of the *Review*. It may be seen by a reference to them, that what is marked by Dr. Mackay as a quotation from the first, is no quotation at all, and that the *Review* is not citing, among other objections, the one answered, but is insisting on that one as the only one on which the whole question at issue must be considered as resting. In an article on another subject, the Reviewer goes out of his way to expatiate, in an argument against slavery, as resting on one position alone, "the ultimate ground," on which "ground precisely" moralist and legislator, he insists, must take their stand. He declares that it would make no difference if the negroes were apes; that slavery is to be abolished for the same reason, and no other, for which we prosecute the man who maltreats his ox or horse. The pro-slavery writer takes the position as the Reviewer makes it, and replies accordingly. If the evils are pre-

cisely the same, why are the remedies so entirely different? Why does the British Parliament prohibit the abuse only, allowing the use of the horse, and prohibit the use as well as the abuse of the slave? Why respect the property of the cabman and take away that of the slaveholder? If to release the negro from labor be judged the most certain way to secure him from the cruelty of his owner, it is the most certain way for the horse also; why not set him free from harness? If it makes no difference whether the slaves be negroes or apes, should apes be turned loose to prevent the possible cruelty of their owners? Carlyle intimates that the sentimentalists of Great Britain will one day claim freedom for the Houyhnhnms, and rightly, too, if the Reviewer's reasoning is carried out to its legitimate conclusions. Dr. Mackay thinks the above inference from the Reviewer's position "tremendous logic." We think his account of the matter "tremendous misrepresentation," as much so at least as false quotation and one-sided statements are able to make it. And yet it is a fair specimen only of the manner in which all British travellers treat the subject of slavery in the United States—an off-hand arrogant fashion, that disdains fact or reasoning, and begins discussion with assuming that their opinion of the matter in dispute is unquestionably true.

The negro slave, then, is as well clad, fed, and cared for, as moral, as well educated, as much protected by law and public opinion, as the hired man of Europe. If he has subsistence and not wages, if his labor is transferred from one to another by others, and not by himself, he is compensated in the certainty of employment and of bread. He has as much as the hired man, and has it more secure. This covers the entire ground of comparison between the hired man and the bondsman, considered as a class. In addition to this, if it be clear that manumission converts the negro from an efficient laborer into a drone, as he is in Jamaica, that it would insure his destruction ultimately in the United States, the whole question, as a practical one, is at rest. There is no reply, except that to which the anti-slavery man is always ready to resort—hard words and abusive language. When the abolitionists can say no more, they strive to spite the master by reviling the slave. When they call negro slaves "human cattle" and "chattel laborers," and pigs, sheep, or poultry, they merely confess that they have nothing more to say. The honest slave is a better man than his scornful contemners. Rhetorical phrases on the ideality of liberty and the dignity of freedom, can have little weight coming, as they do, from the employers of naked, starving, homeless, ignorant and demoralized laborers, and framed, as they are, for the printing office, not the hovel—for the occupant of the drawing-room, not the night tenant of a stray cask. They have nothing to do with toil and its sufferings.

The whole question of labor is subject, indeed, to laws beyond the control of sentimental travellers, demagogues, or philanthropists. They may do mischief by their interference, they have done a great

deal, but they can never do good. Whether bondsmen or hired men shall cultivate the soil of Jamaica, does not depend on the assemblies of Exeter Hall. They may stop cultivation; they cannot change the form of labor necessary to conduct it. They may make an idle soldier of the freed negro, but they cannot make him a tiller of the soil for wages. At every attempt, he will continue "to eat his yams and to *snigger at the buckra*." Hayti, as she is, will become more and more a wilderness; restore slavery, and, in twenty years, she would rival the prosperity of Cuba. The question of labor is one of climate and production. Civil laws, as in New-England, affirm only the prior decisions of nature. It will be so throughout the United States. There will be no intermeddling by federal or State governments, unless it be, to give expression to what other laws shall have previously decreed. Where climate requires the slave's labor, it will continue; where the hired man can toil, the white will drive out the black. The process is going on daily. Legislation can and will do little to advance or retard it. In the meantime, it may calm and soothe the tender hearts of gentle philanthropists, to be assured, that, between the hired man and the bondsman, the white laborer and the black, there is not much to choose, in food, clothing, dwelling, morals, religion, education, contentment, or happiness. The slave, at least, has nothing to envy in the condition of his brother laborer, and does not envy him. Let our English friends attend to their own social miseries, and leave the slaveholder to manage his. In doing so, they will violate no law of gentlemanly propriety or Christian charity, while they conform to a homely and wholesome adage, which directs every one to attend to his own affairs and not to meddle with those of his neighbor.

ART. VII.—THE COMMERCIAL SPIRIT—CARTHAGE.

WHILE the possession of wealth is not unfrequently a blessing, the desire to be rich exposes men to great temptations, and "the love of money is the root of all evil."* "Some," says the apostle, "have erred from the faith," in following the dazzling and blinding gleam of gold; all their strength of principle, backed by religious faith and upheld by prayer, has been unable to resist the tyranny of mammon, admitted in some unguarded hour too near the citadel of their affections, until they were sunk in "foolish and hurtful lusts," and drowned "in destruction and perdition." If man, aided by Divine grace, may be thus overcome, still less can nature alone maintain a successful struggle against this encroaching demon where the opportunity is favorable and the stimulus strong.

As we have seen in our past consideration of the subject, there is imminent danger of covetousness supplanting honesty, and luxury and selfishness taking possession of a heart that they find swept and

* 1 Tim. vi. 10.

garnished after the expulsion of charity from its innermost apartments.

It has sometimes happened in the world's history, that a nation has laid in commerce the foundation of its prosperity, and has found itself not more certainly in the road to wealth than in the road to corruption.

The nation, like the individual, absorbed by the love of money, errs from its faith, in those great principles of right which bind the universe together, and pierces itself through with many sorrows. Whether these elements (entirely new to the Old World), which enter into our national system, will not serve to postpone, it may be, for centuries, or to avert the ruin which others have sunk in, remains to be seen. At present we can find no more instructive subject for our meditations, than the character and fate of an ancient republic that stood at the head of the nations in the splendor of her commerce, the extent of her resources, and ultimately in the renown of her arms and the entireness of her destruction.

Like the Roman Cæsar, Carthage had "joy for her fortune, reverence for her honor, and death for her ambition."

Her history comes to us in great measure through Roman authors, who naturally aimed in almost every narrative to exalt the name of Rome at the expense of her most formidable rival, and so successful have been Livy, Polybius, and the rest, in this attempt that "Punic faith" has become a proverb and a by-word wherever the Latin tongue has gone. It is even said that her remorseless conquerors busied themselves in destroying every vestige of the literature of their victims, and only the *Periplus of Hanno* (a short account of his voyage as far south perhaps as Guinea) has come down to us.

Yet Carthage was once the mistress of the seas. Her dominions extended from Egypt to Gibraltar, and northward she anticipated the conquest of the Moors almost to the base of the Pyramids. Tyre in the height of her glory was her inferior, and Alexandria and Syracuse, and Corinth, paled before the lustre of her renown. Her people were a prosperous commercial race for centuries before the Roman historians knew of their greatness, and were enjoying and communicating the arts of civilized life while Italy was still struggling against barbarism, and educating her sinews for the horrid trade of war. The commencement of the commercial prosperity of this mighty people is assigned by some writers to the arrival of Elyssa, the Dido of Virgil, 868, A. C., but Carthage is probably the Tarshish to which the ships of Solomon and Tyre traded, one hundred and fifty years before, bringing back from her markets the treasures of the western world. A Carthaginian colony was, in all probability, established about 500 A. C., in the British islands, which were already long peopled by a high-spirited and commercial race, and these same restless mariners are even said to have settled a portion of our American coast.

Carthage was the greatest of the Phœnician colonies, and owes her

exaltation to the enterprise of her people, to her admirable situation, and to her safe distance from the effete monarchies over which the sceptre of oriental despotism had rusted from inaction, till Alexander, with his invincible Macedonians, like a whirlwind, swept down their thrones and palaces, and portioned their satrapies among his generals, as a father divides among his children his land and slaves.

The first inhabitants of Carthage were those same Canaanites or Phœnicians whom, after their expulsion from the promised land, by Moses and Joshua, we have seen scattered in flight along all the shores of the known world, a race whom necessity and experience made a commercial people, as persevering, as daring, and as nautical as our New-England whalemén, and who had circumnavigated Africa twenty centuries before Vasco de Gama discovered that it was not a perpetually extended continent. They founded their great colony upon a peninsula which itself, from the changes that centuries have made in the coast, cannot now be distinguished from the unvarying shore.

It was placed midway between Gibraltar and Smyrna, at the east and west end of the Mediterranean, accessible to all the commercial states of antiquity, with a fine harbor, and a fertile back country in the rear, upon which the great Sahara has encroached faster than the opposite sea has retired.

Thus the Romans, the desert, and the sea, have conspired together to efface the name and memory of a people who did more than any other race for the subjugation of them all.

It is reasonable to believe that the manufactures and arts of Tyre and Sidon were early transplanted to the new colony, and even her enemies acknowledge her subsequent pre-eminence in works of taste and eloquence. Her coins equalled those of the Greek and Roman mints when in the highest stage of their perfection.

The greatest commercial splendor of Carthage was attained about 400 years A. C., and two centuries later we find her without a rival in the Mediterranean. Appian compares her wealth and prosperity to the empire of the Macedonians for power, and to that of the Persians for opulence. The Carthaginians probably used bank-notes two thousand years before their invention by the Jews and Moors of Spain, and they constructed wet docks for their shipping, dug out from the soil, and secured by walls and quays, such as are claimed to be the invention of modern times. It is supposed that they manufactured sugar from the cane 500 years before the Christian Era. Their mode of trading with the inhabitants of the western coast of Africa, as given by Herodotus, was peculiar, and speaks much more favorably for the "Punic faith" than the Roman rhetoricians were in the habit of doing. The mariners were accustomed to put their merchandise upon the sand and then retire to their ships. The natives, the ancestral tribes perhaps of those whom twenty-five hundred years later, we are endeavoring to civilize and convert, through

our colonies and missionaries at Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone, would then come down to the beach, attracted by signal fires, and place beside each parcel a quantity of gold dust and retire. If this were satisfactory, the Carthaginians would take it away and leave the goods. If not, they would withdraw again for the natives to add to the gold till the price should be paid. It is obvious that nothing but the most scrupulous honesty on both sides, could induce the parties to engage in such traffic a second time. On other parts of the same coast they exchanged wine, the ointments of Egypt, the earthen-ware and tiles of Athens and other manufactures for hides of cattle, deer, elephants, lions, and for ivory. Strabo informs us that they had before his day not less than three hundred trading posts for the prosecution of this traffic.

The enterprise that bore these hardy and industrious merchants with their goods north to the British islands, has been already referred to. McPherson, the author of that mass of historical lore, the *Annals of Commerce*, sums up his description by saying, "such is the poor account which I have been able to collect from ancient authors, of the greatest commerce that ever was carried on by any nation of the western world, from the dawn of history, till times comparatively modern; a commerce, which, by its unrivalled extent and judicious management, relieved all nations of their superfluities, supplied all their wants, and everywhere dispensed plenty and comfort; whereby through the good offices of those universal agents and carriers, the Indian, the Ethiopian, the Negro, the Briton, and the Seythian, living at the extremities of the world, and ignorant of each other's existence, contributed to each other's felicity by increasing their own."—*Mac. An. Com.*, vol. i., p. 56.

The government and institutions of the Carthaginians are little known, a single fragment of one of their histories, and another of their language, being all that have come down to us. They had, however, two chief magistrates and a senate who were elected by the people, notwithstanding that the outer wall of their city is said to have been forty-five miles in extent, enclosing 700,000 inhabitants. Aristotle approves of their government, as one of the best in the world, and says that in his own times, though Carthage was then several centuries old, "its tranquillity had never been disturbed, by either domestic sedition or the tyranny of its government."

We have now traced this people to the summit of their wealth and power, and have beheld the beneficial results of the peaceful pursuits of commerce and navigation, in enhancing their own prosperity at the same time that they served as a band to unite the most distant nations in one common alliance, imparting to the savage letters and the arts, and furnishing to the cultivated the materials of their most important manufactures. We find them at the same time in the enjoyment of a government perhaps as free as our own, and which commanded the admiration of the greatest master of politics, next to Moses, that antiquity has produced, and which, for at least

500 years, had completely answered its end. Nothing but that respect for the rights of person and property, which it is always the tendency of commerce to engender, could so long have preserved it.

We find them excelling all nations in navigation, and pushing their discoveries beyond the pillars of Hercules out into the vast ocean, north and south, along the coasts of Europe and Africa, levying the righteous tributes of commerce upon every people and clime, and scattering blessings like a beneficent providence, with one hand upon the fiery tropics, and the other stretched out toward the frozen sea.

The Roman historians quoted from their literature before it perished, and Ptolemy's most accurate maps were those of the western coast of Africa, which the seamen of Carthage had explored. Had this ancient people been content with conferring blessings upon mankind, we should not now be obliged to resort to their enemies for our knowledge of their history, nor should we now, in groping for the faint glimmer through the ages of the light they once shed upon the world, find them more completely blotted out from the records of men than perhaps any one of the mighty empires, which in turn have stood forth like promontories from the shore of time. Commerce made Carthage what she was, and the fruits of commerce, unsanctified, destroyed her forever. First, wealth made her merchant princes luxurious and effeminate. Instead of passing on the luxuries of other climates from nation to nation, as they had done before, they expended them at home, building and adorning splendid palaces, and gratifying the voluptuous taste and the hot passions that an orient ancestry and a southern sun had entailed upon them, at the expense of the duties they owed to gods and men.

The trade of arms, in obedience to the traditions of Tyre, had long since been given up to mercenaries, and their hireling ranks were recruited from Africa, Spain, Italy, and Greece.

An effeminacy scarcely less than that which disgraced and enervated Persia, indisposed the citizens for those long and perilous voyages which had brought the treasures of the earth to their feet, while mammon and ambition still aspired to a supremacy among the nations. The thirst for conquest parched the lips and throat of these once peaceful merchants, like a blast from the hot desert behind them, and they sent forth sordid armies to wrest by violence what had never been denied to them in trade. They converted their trading posts along the shores of continents into a military occupancy, to oppress and enslave the people who before were their customers and friends. Ambition, partially gratified, together with the increasing power and dangerous neighborhood of Rome, disposed them for further conquests, until, at the beginning of the Second Punic War, the Carthaginians had nearly abandoned commerce for military life. About the time that Xerxes and his millions were defeated in Greece, they lost, in Sicily, an army of 300,000 men, without doubt the largest collection of mercenary troops ever assembled by

the power of gold. An historian tells us that "the gradual acquisition of wealth by patient industry seemed contemptible, when compared with the seizure of it by war and plunder. The people became intoxicated by conquest; their judgment was perverted, and their avarice excited, by the example of the Romans, whom they saw prospering by a perpetual violation of justice. The national virtue was relaxed; and the military successes, which filled the city with exultation, laid the foundation of its ruin."

Rome had long been jealous of the power of her only rival among the nations of the earth, and finding the dominion of Carthage extended over Sicily and Sardinia, a part of Spain and Africa, she availed herself of an opportunity for a collision in Sicily, from which, if her historians are to be believed, Carthage came out crippled in her power and narrowed in her boundaries. Hamilcar then invaded and conquered Spain, intending, from her rich mines, to defray the expenses of an expedition against Rome. Arrested, however, by the hand of death, he bequeathed to his son, the great Hannibal, his hatred of that grasping power that even then assumed to be the arbiter of the nations. It is even said that the father dedicated the boy to the work of vengeance upon the altar, and exacted an oath of undying hostility to the people who would brook no prosperity on the earth beyond the flight of their own eagles. Ill fated oath! The youthful general, instead of exhausting his resources in preparations for the defence of the altar-fires of his native city, collected a force for the invasion of Italy, defeated army after army of the Roman soldiers, scaled the Alps in the face of savage foes, and descended with twenty thousand men upon the plains.

Here, if he had been sustained by his countrymen, the history of the world would have been changed, by the destruction of Rome; but factions sprung up at home, and corrupt politicians, missing the bribes from Hannibal with which his predecessor Hasdrubal had plied them, persuaded the people to leave him to his fate. For sixteen years he maintained his footing almost within sight of the Eternal City, and retreated at last only because Scipio had invaded Carthage (an exploit embalmed in the proverb it originated "to carry the war into Africa"), and its great general, second to none of antiquity, was recalled by an ungrateful senate and people for the defence of their homes. The rest is soon told. The military genius of Rome triumphed over the base hirelings and undisciplined masses and factions of Carthage, and not many years afterward the city was captured and pillaged, and the very materials of which it was built, so far as they were perishable, were destroyed.

As if the "God to whom vengeance belongeth" would punish in kind the avarice and ambition of this once peaceful and mercantile race, the miserable remnant of the people were compelled to remove their dwellings ten miles from the sea, while Rome went on in her career of butchery and wrong until she, too, had filled out the measure of her iniquity; and heathens, still more savage, were let loose upon the vineyards and palaces of Italy.

The ancient state sprung like Venus from the foam of the sea, and great with her maritime renown, thus banished inland from her native element, could no more live than the lily that bends gracefully over to kiss its own shadow in the waters of the Nile, if transplanted to the Nubian Desert, with its bright leaves exposed to the sirocco and the sand-storm. Her inexorable foe left her but the effigy of an independent power, and bereft of every vestige of her former glory.

"What seemed her head the likeness of a kingly crown had on;"

a reed was given to her withered hand for a sceptre, and a purple robe thrown in mockery around her shrunken form. History can trace her no farther.

As one by one the lights that she had kindled along the coasts of the world were extinguished, the wail of her *miserere* rose up through the vaulted galleries and still cloisters of the past, and then dumb with inarticulate woe, she lay like the transient mist of the morning along the borders of the desert, till it is drunk up by the sunbeams and dissipated forever.

Thus arose and thus perished Carthage.

"Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe,
Strength in her arms nor mercy in her woe;
Dropped from her nerveless grasp the shattered spear,
Closed her bright eye, and curbed her high career."

Her trading posts have vanished; her ships have left no track upon the sparkling waters, her dock-yards and her wharves have submitted to the ancient sands of the sea which they had displaced; no historian of her blood has notched her glory and her wrongs in the temple of fame, and no native bard has swept his lyre to the lament of her desolation. So utter was her extinction, that while in their ruins we may read the grandeur of the still older Nineveh and Babylon, her temples and palaces have furnished no memorial or record of the past, and even their fragments are undistinguishable upon the plain. She serves only as a monument which the God of Hosts has erected for the nations to read and ponder its inscription. "*The love of money is the root of all evil.*"

Let us study it and be wise. Of all the people upon earth perhaps the American people need most at this time the light of this history for their guidance. We are so deeply involved in a lucrative and fast growing commerce, that it bids fair soon to form our institutions and manners for us in a mould that shall be permanent while the nation endures. The increasing wealth of our great cities, while politically their influence is highly conservative, is changing the habits of our people by the importation of foreign fashions, luxuries, crimes, and criminals. This is inevitable to our situation, and we must do the best we can with them.

The commerce of the United States will perpetually extend itself, perpetually create wealth and introduce luxury. It is our destiny

as much as it was that of Carthage—no legislation can effectually check it that will not also check our speed in the race of nations. It is impossible that we can be otherwise than a great commercial people. Everything in our character and condition conspires to this end. Egypt could not engage largely in commerce, notwithstanding its fertility, from want of timber for ship-building, but our forests are so great as to furnish the chief obstacle in the way of agriculture. Rome despised trade, enacted that no senator should own a ship, placed a bounty upon war by giving the soldier far higher wages than the sailor; with more territory than the Cæsars ruled, trade is honorable among us, merchants are among our first citizens, and wealth is already a road to civil and social honors. Russia will probably never excel in commerce from want of suitable coasts and harbors, but we have coasts nearly five thousand miles in extent, abounding in the finest harbors in the world. England has been for many years queen of the seas, but it is estimated that sixty thousand tons of American shipping were in her employ in the Crimea, transporting provisions and munitions of war, and this is only a fraction of a marine that is probably the largest among the nations. We have open to us now the carrying trade of the earth, and may well claim the title of the Phœnicians or Carthaginians of the nineteenth century. With a relative eminence inferior to that of Carthage, the great activity of the American mind, caused by a perpetual contest with nature in our boundless possessions, and by the conflicting tides of strange civilizations which have met here and boil and foam like a whirlpool, are hurrying us on faster than Carthage in the career of wealth, luxury and aggrandizement. Are we not progressing with equal strides in corruption and effeminacy?

Since the organization of our government, we have bought Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, and Indian territories; we have annexed Texas, we have conquered New-Mexico and California, and we are continually reaching after farther acquisitions. Where shall the end be?

Some of our demagogues do not scruple to aim at the possession of North America—forgetting that in time, annexation by a republic must weaken the central government to dissolution, or strengthen it to despotism; and that the control of funds necessary to the government of so vast an empire, must needs make bribery and corruption common among us. The executive of a republic containing within its borders the torrid and the frigid zones must govern either by the purse or the sword, or by both. The administration of Carthage was supported by bribery at the very time that her resources and her warlike spirit enabled Hannibal to invade and almost to conquer Italy.

Of the corrupt man urged on by covetousness, Socrates says, that "every master should pray that he may not meet with such a slave, and every such person being unfit for liberty should implore that he may meet with a merciful master."—(*Ferguson.*)

We are in the path which no nation has ever trodden without finding ruin at the end of it. If luxury shall, undisturbed, be permitted to do the work it has been wont to do in all time, and all over the earth, we shall be fit only for a race of slaves, and should adopt the wise man's advice, and pray Heaven to send us merciful masters.

Carthage lasted many centuries, but while her exultation was relative, her enervation was absolute, and her doom was deserved long before it was consummated. We are gaining faster than ever did Carthage in population, territory, resources, and splendor, and our career may be shorter than hers.

In the ordering of Providence, death seems as much the heritage of nations as of individual men, and we may almost say that they die by kindred diseases. Fever burns in their veins, or consumption wastes the nutriment of their strength, or paralysis shocks and destroys their vitality till they dry up to exsiccation, or the body politic grows pampered and bloated from indulgence and excess, till corruption circulates through every artery where the life blood *should* flow, and the gross and corpulent mass becomes putrescent from its very richness. Some are benumbed into stupor by oppression, which alike deadens patriotism and private virtue, till political death steals like the sleep of freezing men over the frame.

"Wearily every bosom pineth,
There the warrior's dart has no fleetness,
There the maiden's heart has no sweetness."

Some stand stripped and shivering upon the brink of the icy flood before they make the final plunge, and some "get drunk with blood to vomit crime," and in the frenzy of delirium inscribe *destruction* upon their banners, and then murder their standard-bearers, and blot out their insignia from the signal book of nations.

Now in deciding the question of our national perpetuity, if we can find tendencies and ingredients in our republic similar to those which brought to a bloody end Carthage and Rome, Greece and Assyria, we should view them with a dread proportioned to the love we bear our country; and if, on the other hand, we find conservative elements which those great empires wanted, we should cherish them as our only hope of temporal salvation. Of the former class, we see rife and growing among us much commercial and political dishonesty, hunger and thirst after luxury, the importation of foreign vices, as the effeminacy of Greece was borne to Rome, and the ambition of Rome to Carthage, and an alarming covetousness of adjacent territory.

This last is generated by the restless enterprise of our population and fearfully increased by the efforts of sectional interest to maintain the balance of power. History in vain calls out to us from the chambers of the past that the destruction of all great nations has arisen chiefly from this one cause, the lust of dominion sapping, when it is sated, the foundations of both public and private virtue.

It is but a warning of Cassandra which Americans will not heed, and *it is manifestly our destiny to go on*, growing, as we have done, in wealth, in territory, and in civil corruption.

If we exist as a nation for twenty years longer, the bribery of public men, which is only a symptom, a fatal and unerring symptom, which every statesman recognizes as the death-rattle in the throat, will be more common even than it is now, and the moral sense of the people will be less shocked at its recurrence. This must in time destroy our national life even if we escape division from diversity of sectional interests. What, then, is our hope? Is it in the power of our armies? Rome subdued the world, and Carthage well nigh conquered Rome. Is it in the magnitude of our resources? It is from them that our chief danger is to be apprehended. Is it in the education of our people? The education of a bad man but sharpens the edge of villany. Is it the freedom of the press? An unsanctified press like an unsanctified commerce may destroy that it should support. Is it in our form of government? Excessive license of the popular will give the death blow to the freedom of Carthage. Is it our division into separate States? This, while it is an outlet to political excitement, also dilutes our national loyalty. Is it, finally, that agriculture and not commerce must always furnish employment for the bulk of our people? The conservative influence of agriculture were indeed incalculable, but with us it is greatly qualified and weakened by disturbing forces. Even now, perhaps, one sixth of our population are herded together in towns and cities, who send by every railroad their opinions, fashions, habits, manners, and morals, to rural districts already peopled in part by immigrants from lands that hold in abhorrence our institutions and our nationality.

What, then, is our hope? I answer that our hope is that something exists among us which shall so leaven the popular mind even while it is assimilating its foreign element, as to perpetuate the life of our people in separate and smaller commonwealths. Those old nations which lorded it over God's heritage, and then perished like Midas when all they touched was gold, had not the *Christian Religion*. That, with its institutions and its moral system, and the enlightening of its great Teacher, are the only element which we possess and they did not. It will not indeed arrest our growth, and therefore will form no effectual barrier to the overthrow of our existing government, but it will *break our fall*, and though the American nation will be destroyed, the American people will survive.

The salt of the earth which an Almighty hand has sown among us will preserve us. The Christian religion will last forever—the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and all human institutions in proportion as they are linked and bound to it, must partake of its immortality. The elements of our endurance are an open Bible, a free pulpit, and a Christian Sabbath. Rome had a forum, but no pulpit. Cicero thundered in the Roman senate the vengeance of the gods against treason, but Paul proclaimed the message of his Mas-

ter in a Roman prison. The Christian's God was an unknown God in Athens. The mother of the Gracchi never sent her sons to Sunday school. The laws of Carthage were good, but when her citizens were found wanting in virtue, there was no Bible and no Sabbath among them to bring them back to repentance and life. Hannibal was dedicated on the altar of Nemesis—our youth are consecrated upon the altar of Jesus. They sowed, and reaped, and fought, and traded, and sailed, to the oracles of Apollo—we to the oracles of the Holy Ghost. It was a Roman governor who crucified Jesus Christ—we worship him in every town and hamlet and homestead.

In conclusion, therefore, permit me to urge the upholding of the *Bible and the Sabbath* as the two factors upon which our life as a people depends. *Let the rules of the Bible never be wanting from our places of business—let the Sabbath never find us there.* Let us learn from the one how to observe the other, and the week days^{also}; and while we are working out our own salvation, we are also lashing to the perpetuity of God's throne, the existence and welfare of our country.

ART. VIII.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE BARS AT THE MOUTHS OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND MOBILE RIVERS.

THE bars or shoals that exist at the mouths of the Mississippi and Mobile rivers, are occasioned by the operation of the same general cause—the deposit of sedimentary matter brought down by the rivers from above—though the effects of the cause are mainly modified by particular circumstances.

The Mississippi discharges its waters through several branches or outlets into the Gulf of Mexico; the number, depth, and respective capacities of these outlets, being subject to frequent changes. The soil through which it flows being composed of fine sand and mud, brought down by the upland waters, the mobility of this material is such, that any slight causes suffice to vary or modify the depth and direction of the outlets. The proximate cause of the deposit or shoal in the embouchure of the Southwest pass of the Mississippi, is the expansion of the stream into a broad estuary. The same quantity of water being diffused over a larger surface, the retarding forces must be increased, and, consequently, the velocity and depth diminished. The greater the breadth of the stream, the less will be the velocity of the water, and the more readily will it permit the deposit of the sedimentary matter, and the formation of a shoal.

The shoal is generally formed in the line of current, because here exists the greatest velocity, and it is in this line that the coarsest and heaviest materials are borne and pushed along by the water at the bottom. As soon as the velocity is reduced by the expansion of the stream, these coarser and heavier materials become stationary, and form a nucleus for the accumulation of other matter. The shoal

thus formed divides the stream, turning the waters toward each side, and causing them to flow into the gulf through two channels, each of which is fashioned according to the momentum of the water it discharges. The elevation and extension of this shoal will depend on the quantity of heavy materials brought down by the river, the decrease of velocity, the action of the counteracting forces, and the advance of the pass into the gulf.

The process by which sand-banks or islands are formed higher up the river is the same, except that their shape and extent are not modified by the action of the waters of the gulf, and, therefore, tail-down stream.

The two contending forces at the embouchure of the pass, give to the shoal the form of the Greek letter, "delta," from which is derived the name by which such formations are generally designated.

In the case of an island in the upper channel of the river, there is usually a bar at both the upper and lower extremities. In the case of the delta, the bar is found, not at its lower extremity, or at the mouth of the two channels that enclose it, but at its upper angle or end where the current is divided. This fact, of itself, is sufficient to prove the fallacy of that theory which assumes that the bar is formed by deposits from the gulf, and not from the upland waters. The supply of detritus is brought down by the river from above, and the strength of the stream to discharge it is greater than that of the gulf to return it. The bar cannot be the result of the deposits from the gulf, unless nature reverses her law of relative forces, and makes the weaker agent more efficient than the stronger.

The tributaries of the Mississippi river sometimes separate into two branches, and form regular deltas within their mouth. These are generally commenced at high, and completed at low water of the Mississippi, the action of which has the same effect upon the delta-formation in the tributary, that the waves and tides of the gulf have upon the corresponding formation at its mouth. These deltas can be obviated by changing the direction of the tributary, so that its confluence with the Mississippi may form an acute angle, thereby increasing the scouring power of the tributary, and counteracting the effects of the Mississippi.

In time of a flood, the waters pursue the most direct course across the low banks of the pass into the gulf, by which the bottom velocity in the channel of the pass is diminished. At the same time the river is bringing down much more detrital matter, than it does at a mean or low stage of the water. The consequence is, that the depth of water on the bar, where the level differs very little from that of the gulf, is less than when the waters of the pass are confined between their banks, and the scouring power thereby concentrated. Hence, follows the singular result so often observed, that the depth on the bar is sometimes less during a flood, or immediately afterward, than it had been after a long continuance of low water.

The action of the gulf is to return and heap up the detritus, and close up the mouth of the pass on the one hand, and the upland waters, to scour the obstruction away and keep the channel open, on the other. The balance of power maintains the shoal at that level, which is the result of all actions. From this, it is evident that by increasing the power of the upland waters the bar must be lowered, and the sailing channel over it improved in the same proportion.

Every subtraction from the quantity of water by the lateral outlets of the pass, tend to diminish the scouring power, and by consequence the depth of the water on the bar. Every addition to the water passing through the channel that is made use of for navigation, adds to the momentum of the stream, and, consequently, to its power of scouring and maintaining a greater navigable depth.

The first and most obvious means to be adopted for improving the navigation of the pass, should, therefore, be the closing of the lateral outlets. The channel should also be reduced to a suitable width and direction, and its banks rendered permanent. By the construction of the proper works for this purpose, we can thus concentrate the power of the stream, diminish the retarding forces, and oblige it to act within a limited width, instead of spreading its power by being diffused over too large a space.

The channel being thus regulated, and the water of the pass united and contracted to a proper breadth, and made to flow in a proper direction between permanent banks, the current will work to obtain in depth what it loses in width. The agent thus constituted for thus scouring and maintaining the depth of the navigable channel, will not only be powerful, but constantly in operation.

The quantity of water discharged from the Mississippi through the Southwest pass, is amply sufficient to create or to maintain, by its scour, a sufficient depth for navigation by the largest vessels, without the aid of any additional power, or any increase in the volume of water. The most judicious plan to be adopted, for confining and concentrating the waters of the pass, and discharging them in a proper direction into the gulf, is by constructing the works of brushwood and stakes, with which materials we can deepen, at pleasure, the embouchure.

MOBILE RIVER.

The bank or shallow of the Southwest pass is within its embouchure, immediately above the delta formation, or where the stream divides into two branches, while that of the Mobile river is in front of its mouth; it extends from side to side, and over it the water of the river disperses itself into the bay. The sailing passage or channel through this bank is called the bar. The bank or shoal, is composed of sand and mud, and has the form of a crescent, which is owing to the decrease of velocity from the line of current toward the sides.

The depth of water upon the bar depends upon the scouring power of the stream that flows over it, and an increase of this power is the simplest, most natural, and most feasible, if not the only means of improving the navigable depth.

The bar cannot be removed, nor can any material alteration be effected in the depth of the water upon it, so long as the river remains in its present state, or in other words, so long as the balance of power between the forces of the river and those in the bay remain the same. An addition to the volume of water in the river, or even a straightening of the channel, so as to modify the interference of the waters of Pinto island pass, and of Spanish and Tensaw rivers, would destroy this balance of power, and the preponderance of the force of the river would increase the depth of water on the bar.

Here, also, as in the case of the Mississippi, it is certain that any obstruction by the lateral outlets, from the quantity of water flowing through the channel, must diminish the power of the river to overcome resistance, and tend to lessen the depth of water. On the other hand, the closing of these outlets by increasing the volume of water in the river, must have the effect of increasing the depth. If the bottom were solid stone, the effect of closing the outlets, if the breadth of the river remains the same, would only be to accelerate the velocity of the current, but, inasmuch as the bottom consists of soft, loose, and easily moveable materials, the effect of augmenting the volume of water flowing through the channel must be primarily to accelerate the velocity of the current, and secondarily to deepen the channel. Nothing is more certain than that a larger quantity of water cannot flow through the same cross section in the same time required for a smaller and at the same rate of velocity. It must flow more rapidly, and as soon as its velocity begins to increase it begins to wear away or excavate for itself a deeper channel, if the width remains the same and the bottom is composed of moveable materials, as is the case with the bottom of the Mobile river. These principles would have been borne out by experience, if the works undertaken in 1854, by some of the citizens of Mobile, for the improvement of the river, had been extended enough to give the necessary increase of velocity to the volume of water discharged through the channel.

These observations we will conclude by two brief remarks :

One is, that dredging, so much relied on by some, while a useful auxiliary or adjunct in some cases, is erroneous in principle as a general system. It is an attack upon the effect, instead of the cause.

The other is, that the improvement of river navigation is a matter of certain accomplishment, by a steady adherence to correct principles.

ART. IX.—ANCIENT AND MODERN ART AND LITERATURE.

WE do not believe that the world has been retrograding for the last two thousand years. We think there has been an aggregate of improvement—more of progress than of retrogression. This improvement consists not only in the vastly increased area of civilization, but in a higher civilization. The spread of Christianity, the discoveries in science, and the successful application of those discoveries to new mechanical contrivances, more than compensate for the decline in literature and art. In whatever is physically useful we are far in advance of the ancients; it is only in the province of taste, of speculative philosophy, and, probably, of government, that we have fallen behind them.

That we have fallen behind them in art and literature is not the opinion of merely a few recondite scholars, but the verdict of mankind. In each department the models which we imitate are found only among the ancients: and to imitate is to admit the superiority of the exemplars which we try to follow. Besides, our rules of criticism, in art and literature, are deduced from the best works of the ancients; and this is an admission, on our part, that they had attained perfection, or, at least, approached it so nearly that to surpass them is hopeless—to equal them, the highest aim of modern ambition. Again, although each modern nation has produced some orator, poet, historian, statesman, or philosopher, whom it boasts to equal any of antiquity, yet this is only the opinion of a single nation, while all other nations award superiority to the ancients. Those who speak the English language do not presume to compare any of their writers, except Shakespeare, to the best authors of antiquity. The rest of the world is unanimously of opinion that he was far excelled by the Greek dramatists. The English themselves, while they imitate and admire the writers and artists of remote antiquity, find nothing among the moderns, without the pale of the English language, worthy of imitation or admiration.

France, standing at the head of modern progress and civilization, has produced neither orator, poet, statesman, philosopher, author, nor artist of any kind, whose reputation extends a hundred miles beyond her boundaries, or will last a hundred years even within those boundaries. France dictates fashion. To be in the fashion is the highest ambition of her statesmen, her authors, her philosophers, and her women. But fashion is changeable and capricious, and hence a French book lives no longer than a French bonnet.

Spain has produced Cervantes, and his *Don Quixote* is evidence that the genius which illuminated Greece and Rome and Judea, is not wholly extinct. Mediæval Italy followed the ancients, but “non passibus æquis.” Her merit was considerable, yet far below that of the models which she imitated. Italy of to-day is only distinguished for the remains of ancient art.

Germany is a humbug. Neither the mind nor the body of man

ever did, or ever will, attain a high development in Northern climes. Men, animals, and vegetables, flourish in warm climates, subsist in cold ones. Heat is the chief stimulant of vegetable, animal, and intellectual life; yet all animals and vegetables may be so modified as to exist in Northern climes. But suspended animation is the lowest phase of existence, and suspended animation is the normal condition of vegetables, animals, and men, at the North. German literature is as monstrous an affair as the crinoline. Fashion, which brought them into vogue, will soon sentence them to contempt, and common sense will approve and perpetuate the condemnatory decree of Fashion.

The rest of the modern world has neither art nor literature to notice. It copies the ancients at second hand, by copying the nations we have mentioned.

What are the peculiar merits of the ancients, which have commanded the admiration of all ages and all nations? They certainly do not lie upon the surface. We shall attempt to analyze, detect, and expose them. This will be rather a "love's labor," than a work which we expect to meet with general approval or extensive usefulness.

Before the invention of the art of printing, books were very costly, and of course none but good books would meet with extensive sale, remunerate the authors, or long remain in existence. This secured the reading public against the flood of vile, trashy, cheap literature, which debauches the modern, and of itself was sufficient to place the aggregate of ancient literature far above that of our day. It had the effect to habituate authors to writing carefully and laboriously.

We think that the internal evidence of great effort, labor, and painstaking, which all the works of ancient art and literature evince on their face, is the chief reason of the admiration which they justly excite. We find in all, thoughts closely crowded, yet distinctly, beautifully, and elaborately expressed. Labor is the measure of value as well in art as in political economy. We unconsciously estimate a work, physical or intellectual, according to the amount of labor which seems to have been bestowed upon it, independent of any other merit which it may possess. Before us is a goblet which we suppose to be cut-glass, and think very beautiful; but satisfy us that we are mistaken, and that it is mere blown glass, and all admiration and estimation of it vanish in a moment. That iron stove, with its alto-relievo casting, is ugly and contemptible: were it the work of the chisel, how beautiful would it appear, and how highly would it be estimated. The high estimate which we put, unconsciously, on the appearance of labor exerted, is a wise provision of Providence. It were well that the admiration could always be extended to the laborer and the artisan. "*Alter cepit honorem!*" is too often the just complaint of the workman, whatever his occupation. Horace, the most finished of the Latin poets, the best of Latin philosophers, and probably the finest genius that Rome produced, is continually inculcating the necessity of labor and painstaking, and ridiculing hasty

compositions. Every scholar recollects his "*lima laba*" and "*sæpe stylum vertas*." The first two hundred lines of Virgil's first *Æniad* contain more beauties, more thought, more perfect scenic description, more high finish and artistic execution, than the whole of Scott's "*Lady of the Lake*;" and the first two books of the *Æniad*, than all of Scott's poetical and prose writings combined. No man of taste and feeling likes to read more than fifty lines of Virgil, or an ode of Horace, at a sitting. He is a literary glutton who reads more. One may read, off-hand, the whole of the "*Lady of the Lake*," without overcrowding his mind with reflection. Scott is one of those poets whom Horace describes as writing a hundred lines "*stans uno pede*." Besides the internal evidence which the works of Virgil afford, it is an historical fact, that he was the most modest, pains-taking, and elaborate of writers. What is well and laboriously written, requires a cultivated intellect and labor of mind to read, comprehend, relish, and appreciate. The masses now read—nay more, they bring the author into fashion, or condemn him to obscurity. Everybody tries to write down to them, to indulge in "*ad captandum*;" to clothe vulgar, sensual ideas in slipshod, careless, gaudy style; to shun what is true, and seek what will "*take*." Reputation is not looked up to, because to be reputable is to be exclusive. Ill-fame, not fame, is what pays. The most fashionable writers are those like Dickens, Sue, Dumas, Thackeray, Bulwer, Greeley, and Bennett, who worship at the shrine of vice, villany, vulgarity, and sensuality, as writers—not as men.

What is true in literature, is true in every department of art. The vulgar, the gaudy, the common-place, alone pleases the public of our day. There can be no excellence, no improvement, until every respectable man assumes as his motto, "*Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo*." The multitude have ever been ignorant and depraved. The ancients did not work down to the tastes of this multitude. The highest ambition of the moderns is to please these. Modern art and literature seek to be vulgar and contemptible; and, surely, they have succeeded. We apply the term vulgar, to men of low tastes and propensities. They belong exclusively to no class of society, but compose the greater part of the rich, as well as the poor; of the educated, as well as of the uneducated. Refinement of mind, and of taste and feeling, are confined to no class. They always belong to the sincerely pious.

We know not a single work, written within the last two centuries, that bears the impress of great labor in its execution. On the contrary, all the works of the ancients that have come down to us, seem to have been tediously and elaborately worked out. Horace, Tacitus, Herodotus, Plutarch, Homer, the Old Testament, in fine, every ancient book teems with condensed thought, and artistically and elaborately chiselled out. "*Materiam superabat opus!*"

In architecture, this laborious, tedious, exact execution is still more observable. All the ruins of antiquity attest this fact. The Parthenon, the best and most beautiful specimen of ancient architecture (until Lord Elgin robbed it), was the noblest of all monuments of

human skill, taste, industry, and genius. The Pyramids astonish us, and excite our admiration, not merely by their great size, for they are not so large as small mountains, but by the reflection on the mighty amount of human labor expended in their construction. The orations of Cicero and Demosthenes were carefully and laboriously prepared. It is said that Isocrates was employed ten years in writing a single oration.

The novel is peculiar to modern times, and more read than any other literary production. Hundreds of thousands have been written, read, become popular, and been thrown aside, never to be taken up again. So hasty and slovenly has been their execution ; so little good or original thought have they contained, that it is not probable that a single one will descend to a remote prosperity. We do not include *Don Quixote* among novels. It belongs to the class of epic poems, and will descend, along with Shakespeare, to the remotest posterity.

Fashion exercises a power in our day, far greater than it ever wielded in olden times. The wisest and best gradually and insensibly yield up their tastes, judgments, and habits, to its dictates, as well in art and literature, as in dress. Fashion not only sustains bad writers, but ostracizes and banishes good ones. Shakespeare's writings were popular while he lived, but almost forgotten for two centuries after his death. They gave place to a light and licentious literature, which poorly aped the French ; itself, a low model for imitation. It required the genius of Garrick to restore Shakespeare to that pedestal which literary charlatans had usurped.

The writers of Queen Anne's day attained a popularity that lasted for almost a century. Fashion raised them to a height of reputation which they did not merit ; and now, in turn, is fast consigning them to an oblivion which they should escape, for they were superior to the writers who immediately preceded them ; and, probably, to any except Goldsmith, who have come after them. Dr. Samuel Johnson was, while living, the idol of fashion ; and Boswell and Goldsmith considered very inferior writers. Now, everybody reads the latter, and few can stand the ponderous verbiage of the doctor. Yet that verbiage covers a great deal of genius, good sense, and excellent morality. Fashion deals too hardly with the doctor.

Fashion has in vain attempted to drive the ancient classics from the field. It cannot dethrone them, nor even bedim their reputation. The reason of this is, that they are the sources whence our rules of criticism, art, taste, and grammar, are deduced. Every modern work is tested, compared with, approved, or condemned, as it approaches or diverges from the standard of antiquity. This brings us to another and the most important branch of our subject.

Is improvement and progress possible in literature and the fine arts, so long as the best of the ancients are adopted as models of perfection, and rules of criticism deduced from them, to bind and to guide all future ages ? Can imitation excel its exemplar ? Is it not doomed ever to fall beneath it ? Would it not be better for us to cast aside

all criticism, all rules of art, all rhetoric and grammar, and to study the great masters of antiquity, from whom this learning is all deduced? We are now imitators at second-hand. We should imitate better by studying the sources whence our rules are borrowed. Painters and sculptors see this, and go to Italy to study the master-pieces of ancient art, instead of relying on mere rules of art deduced from those master-pieces.

Lord Kaimes saw this stereotyping and depressing tendency of modern criticism, and attempted a work that should deduce its rules from nature, not from mere authority. His book is ingenious and interesting, but neither satisfactory nor useful. Art precedes criticism, language comes before grammar and rhetoric. Literature and art are of spontaneous origin and growth. Science or rule, applied to them, arrests their growth, and anticipates and prevents future invention and improvements—for such inventions and improvements would be a violation of accepted rules. If improvement and invention do come, they come like Gothic architecture and Shakespeare's plays, from those ignorant of the rules of ancient art, and not trained "*jurare in verba magistri*."

We not only admit the superiority of the ancients by making them our models, but we thereby make them our superiors. There is surely a great evil in this state of things, that chains down the living present to the motionless car of the dead past: an evil, for which those who have charge of education, should try to find a remedy.

Modern art and literature stand between Scylla and Charybdis. If not condemned by the standard of the past, they are sure to be convicted by the standard of the future. New words daily come into use, and old ones change their meaning—and new fashions of thought, and new modes of expression, daily arise. The writers of a century ago look queer, odd, and grotesque to us—and so shall we appear to our posterity. A Shakespeare carves out a world of art for himself, which equally defies the standards of the past and the future. It requires a thousand years, however, to produce a Shakespeare. The *Spectator*, deemed a century ago a masterpiece of literary art, is now decidedly grotesque and barely readable. A standard is applied to it which its authors could not possibly anticipate or comply with. Blessed is the modern author whose works die with him. The books that survive their authors, descend to posterity only to be laughed at.

It is a mournful reflection, that the present languages of Europe will not, three hundred years hence, be as intelligible to the then generation, as the dead languages—and far less admired and appreciated. We moderns are destined, successively, to smother one another, and it is only the dead of two thousand years ago who will live forever.

However much the ancients may be indebted to a fashion that never changes, for the preference awarded them, they have, nevertheless, much higher claims to favor and distinction. To these latter claims we have already adverted.

The works of antiquity are not only more replete with thought

than ours, and distinguished by more careful, elegant, and elaborate execution, but they also surpass ours in wisdom of reflection and profundity of thought. They, the ancients, led simpler lives than we, had their attention divided and diverted by fewer objects and occupations, and were left opportunity for concentrated and continuous reflection, labor, and investigation. The ten thousand artificial wants which modern invention, stimulated by fashion, has begotten, leave to men, who live in the great world, but little time for aught else than supplying those wants, and keeping up with the capricious dictates of fashion. Life is spent and attention frittered away in trifling pursuits and on trivial subjects. The tub of Diogenes, the small house of Socrates, the simple mode of living of Zeno, Pythagoras, and their followers, show the value which ancient philosophers set upon secluded and quiet life, and simple habits, as conducing alike to purity of morals and depth of thought. If we may indulge a smile on so grave a subject, we would suggest that probably Xantippe was no shrew after all, but a notable housekeeper, who scolded Socrates very properly for bringing home more guests than his little house would hold, and (in his philosophic abstraction), neglecting to provide for their supper. Philosophers are provoking enough sometimes to convert angels into shrews. It is said Sir Isaac Newton once took hold of his sweetheart's finger, and used it, unconsciously, to push the ashes down in his pipe. Philosophers need nurses, but hardly deserve wives.

The blindness of Milton and Homer, and several distinguished mathematicians, affords further evidence of the importance of simplicity of life, to the attaining profundity of thought.

What is acquired with difficulty, is more valued than what is easily obtained. We set no value whatever on those things of primary use and necessity which are furnished us by Providence without labor or exertion. Air and water are more useful and necessary than silver, gold, and diamonds, yet we set no value on air and water. Long, arduous, and continued labor, is required to make us familiar with the ancient classics, and there is no doubt that this difficulty of attainment, is one reason why we estimate knowledge of antiquity so much more highly than the knowledge of the vulgar present. Independent of any actual superiority of the ancients, the difficulty of making their acquaintance, makes us set a higher value on them.

All who are tolerably familiar with the classical writers of antiquity must have remarked that the pleasure derived from reading them, increases with the advance of age. It is a kind of pleasure, too, that suits age; unaccompanied with any alloy of pain, or any of that high excitement which we enjoy only in early life. All learning is sure, more or less, to refine the taste, the feelings, and the manners, and generally, the morals also, for it enables us to substitute intellectual for mere sensual pleasures. Classical learning carries with it these effects in a far higher degree than any other, because none but good and able classical works have survived the lapse of ages.

No reading is less satisfactory or improving than modern history. It is a tangled web, which we in vain endeavor to disentangle. A confused maze in which we become bewildered and lost. The multitude of events, the greater multitude of the *dramatis personæ*, the extent of the field of action, and the distorted and contradictory accounts with which everything is invested by interest, passion, or prejudice, render it impossible to comprehend the story, much less to deduce useful lessons and conclusions. It is not "philosophy teaching by example," for writers are not agreed as to the example, the causes of events, or the motives, or characters of the actors. It is directly calculated to beget a moral skepticism, a low estimate of human nature, a contempt for the (so-called) great, and a general distrust of our fellow-beings.

Ancient history and ancient biography are the reverse of all this. The plot is not vast, complex, confused, and intricate. The characters are not hypocritical, artful, disguised, and disingenuous. Men and events are distinctly characterized and distinguished, and seem to stand boldly out from the canvass. We can understand the separate figures and comprehend the whole of the historical picture before us. We feel that we can learn lessons of wisdom from what we read. We study with pleasure, derive instruction from every page, and put down our book with the consciousness that our time has not been wasted; but, on the contrary, that did we heed the lessons we have learned we should become wiser and better men.

Among the moderns that simplicity of character and singleness of purpose, which so generally distinguished and exalted the ancients, are only to be found in rare instances, with men like Washington, the Duke of Wellington, Calhoun, and Lafayette. Their characters were modelled after the antique cast, simple, beautiful, strong, and majestic, as the Doric pillars of the Parthenon.

Ancient historians and biographers possessed great advantages over the moderns in the characters of the events and of the men about whom they had to write; greater still in superiority of genius (for but little genius has denoted itself in modern times to historical and biographical writing), yet the greatest merit of all, with the ancients, was the pains and labor which they bestowed on their writings. Herodotus affords the first and most brilliant example of the truth we are trying to inculcate. Intending to write the history of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes and the many nations under his command, he travelled over most of the then known civilized world, and studied closely the geography, history, religion, manners, customs, and government of the countries he visited. He begins his work by a learned and labored account of all these things, so as to enable us to understand the motives, causes, connections, and antecedents of the grand drama which his pen was about to immortalize. Such a history could never be written again, because the world thereafter became too old, too varied and complex, for such successful generalization. Or if the

thing were possible, no other Herodotus has arisen to grapple with the theme.

Youth intended for most of the useful and business walks of life, have generally neither time nor means to bestow on the study of the ancient languages. Besides, business habits and habits of order, punctuality, and industry, should be acquired in early life, for it is hard to learn them afterward, and it is not, therefore, advisable to keep most youths long at school. But it would be an admirable change in our system of English education, if, instead of vainly attempting to learn English grammar, which no mere English scholar ever did or even can learn (if, indeed, the tongue be reducible to grammatical rule), teachers would substitute the study of translations of the ancients, and of the manners, customs, religions, history, and governments of antiquity. Let enough of these things be learned at school to give the student a key to antiquity, and he will become curious on the subject and fill up his knowledge by easy and agreeable reading in after-life. It may save him from low association, novel-reading, and all other kinds of dissipation. It will put him at ease in good society, and help to fit him to discharge the duties of any office he may be selected to fill.

The unanimous verdict of mankind favors the study of the ancients, and nothing but silly and vain eccentricity attempts to decry or set aside that verdict.

ART. X.—FREE NEGROES IN JAMAICA.

"The planters in general would suffer little, if at all, from emancipation. This change would make them richer rather than poorer. One would think, indeed, from the common language on the subject, that the negroes were to be annihilated by being set free; that the whole labor of the South was to be destroyed by a single blow. But the colored man, when freed, will not vanish from the soil. He will stand there with the same muscles as before, only strung anew by liberty; with the same limbs to toil, and with stronger motives to toil than before. He will work from hope, not fear; will work for himself, not for others; and unless all the principles of human nature are reversed under a black skin, he will work better than before. We believe that agriculture will revive; worn-out soils will be renewed, and the whole country assume a brighter aspect under free labor."—DR. CHANNING.

"As to the free blacks they are almost uniformly lazy and improvident; most of them half starved, and only anxious to live from hand to mouth. Some lounge about the highways with pedlar boxes stocked with various worthless baubles; others keep miserable stalls provided with rancid butter, damaged salt pork, and other such articles; and these they are always willing to exchange for stolen rum and sugar, which they secretly tempt the negroes to pilfer from their proprietors; but few of them ever endeavor to earn their livelihood creditably. Even those who profess to be tailors, carpenters, or coopers, are, for the most part, careless, drunken, and dissipated, and never take pains sufficient to attain any dexterity in their trade. *As to a free negro hiring himself out for plantation labor, no instance of such a thing was ever known in Jamaica; and probably no price, however great, would be considered by them as a sufficient temptation.*" (Written seventeen years before the emancipation.)—LEWIS' WEST INDIES.

"Hired servants, by which I mean persons of free condition voluntarily working for pay, are unknown in Africa."—MUNGO PARK.

WHEN thoughtful men, after a life of general study and particular devotion to one object of study, sum up in advanced age all their conclusions and give them to the world, it is interesting for a succeeding generation to look and see how often the wisdom of the wisest is at fault and so to learn not only lessons of humility, but also of patient research. Dr. Channing was a wise man, a good man, and was respected at the South as well as at the North. But Dr. Channing fell into the faults of too many of our Northern friends upon the question of slavery, he shut his eyes to much of the evidence, which, as a candid and good man, he was bound to consider. Had Dr. Channing studied well the history of the negro race so far as developed in his own day, he never could have honestly penned the words cited at the head of this article. There were the travels of Mungo Park, of Major Denham, Captain Clapperton, René Caillé, and hosts of others in Africa, as well as the reports of disinterested persons in the West Indies, whose positive relations of facts, precluded all necessity for surmises as to what the negro race would do in freedom. A score of years before emancipation in Jamaica, Lewis had added his evidence to that of many others, upon the innate laziness of the negro in his present state. Lewis was a man well-known for his philanthropy, and having inherited, almost against his will, a plantation, left England resolved to remodel plantation life; he soon discovered, however, how exceedingly erroneous had been his previous views of negro character, and frankly imparted to his English friends at home the results of his practical experience.*

What might have been known by thinkers and philanthropists a quarter of a century since, is to-day amply confirmed; and it behooves all to consider well what a responsibility there rests upon us to know what may be known respecting negro character. Our fathers—the fathers, too, of the men of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Great Britain—have transported a race to this continent. Upon their descendants, the Englishmen and New Englishmen of the present day, as well as upon us Southerners, devolves the awful responsibility of unfolding the future of this people. That future depends entirely upon *opinion*. Opinions based on ignorance, sentimental, philanthropical, or any other kind of ignorance, if they acquire sufficient force, will deluge our land with blood, *but chiefly negro blood*. It will produce a commercial crisis such as the world has never seen, and which will carry misery everywhere, from the cottage of the New-England farmer who dreams that he is far removed from danger, to the

* Lewis wrote a book giving a journal of his experience as a planter. He was an intimate friend of Lord Byron, though the latter dismisses him in a couplet, displaying more levity than affection:

"I would give many a sugar cane,
If Matt Lewis were alive again."

princely mansions of London. And many a man who now imagines himself a philanthropist, will in that day become convinced that he has been a lazy, untrustworthy, and culpable being—lazy, because he has, without study, adopted opinions involving the lives of his fellow-men; untrustworthy, because he has never lifted a finger to benefit a race placed under his care; and culpable, because all his words and acts have tended surely to produce a bloody crisis, which it was morally certain could benefit none.

In a previous article we have attempted to make some examination of the results of half a century of freedom in Hayti.

It is fortunate for the true interests of the negro race that we have a Jamaica as well as a Hayti—fortunate that theorists, while afforded every license in variety of experiments upon the helpless blacks, have been at least restricted in their power to do harm to small numbers, and that before practising on millions they have commenced with thousands.

If power had been granted to the most sincere and ardent philanthropist, to place certain bodies of negroes in just those positions he believed most conducive to their future welfare and happiness, we think it would have been impossible to conceive two situations more favorable in every respect than those afforded by Hayti and Jamaica. They presented the common advantages of isolation and yet easy access, thus inviting the powerful aid of commerce; of fertility, suitability of climate, and comparatively small populations; they were delivered to their new proprietors, who had been well instructed in the arts of agriculture, in a high state of cultivation; and they had all the machinery of business, commerce, education, religion, and government, prepared and ready for their exercise; but besides these points of similarity, as if to test well the experiments of negro capability there were some striking differences in their condition; Hayti had all the advantages of French, while Jamaica enjoyed those of English, civilization, laws, and language. Hayti undertook the grand experiment of discarding entirely all connection with the white race, ignoring even their existence in the island; Jamaica retained the aid of the most intelligent whites, having one of England's nobility for her governor, but forming an assembly composed of both blacks and whites; moreover, the latter country had the benefit of the thirty years' experience of the former, before commencing the experiment for herself. And what has been the result of these great efforts? Could the hopes of the least sanguine have been more cruelly disappointed than in the case of Hayti? Does the condition of Jamaica, after a quarter of a century of freedom, at all correspond with the anticipations that were once so freely indulged respecting it?

Physicians killed many before they cured one. Our practitioners of negro philanthropy do not yet appear to have advanced beyond the first clause of the proposition. Every facility has been afforded them, every variety of case subjected to the operation of their theories, but the results are in every instance cruel, and humanity is now

strongly protesting against the continuance of this sentimental quackery.

The Emancipation Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1834, was, perhaps, one of the sublimest events in history. At a single royal stroke of the pen, as if melted by the electric spark, the fetters dropped from the limbs of eight hundred thousand human beings, scattered over the world and distant as the antipodes. Swifter than the sun the wild shout of liberty echoed from the tablelands of the Cape to the blue mountains of Jamaica, from the parched shores of Honduras to the volcanic isles of the Caribbean sea, from the surf-fringed Bahamas to the Spanish main, on that occasion. In a single second, in the twinkling of an eye, during the half-finished stroke of the clock, the bonds fell from men, some of whose hereditary titles of servitude dated back farther than the conquest—nay, were older than the Pyramids. The slave of to-day, the slave of antiquity, the slave born amid the burning sands of Africa, the slave upon some distant tropical isle of the Indian ocean, and his fellow-slave fifteen thousand miles away in the West Indian archipelago, all felt alike the magic shock communicated by that royal decree. It is impossible to contemplate quietly such a deed as this—the very thought of it thrills the whole frame. As an example of the capacity, management, and executive power of a nation it is entirely unparalleled. All other human feats, such as the conquests of Alexander, the battles of Napoleon, the building of the Pyramids, sink into insignificance beside it. Time and circumstance have often, and may again, enable despots to martial together hosts of men to overrun and desolate the earth; but we very much doubt if at any previous period of the world the conception and masterly execution of such an act as this would have been possible. The daring, the energy, the perseverance, the skill, the high capability, and the humane intention, all so happily combined and exhibited in this great achievement from the period of its conception to that of its perfect execution, display more than any other single act of any nation, the nobler powers of man, and are eminently characteristic of the spirit of the nineteenth century. But, unfortunately, we must judge of philanthropy rather by its consequences than by its good intentions. The intentions of the Spanish government were, undoubtedly, humane and sincere when, in the early part of the sixteenth century, they sent their captains and bishops to conquer and convert the New World. We cannot help admiring the grandeur and goodness of the design, while its results excites our strongest condemnation. Every-day instances are occurring around us where the result of injudicious benevolence is positive evil. Weakness as well as wickedness is punished in this world, and the best intentions never compensate for want of experience, judgment, and foresight.

The sudden emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies is a remarkable instance of the best of motives being rewarded by the very worst results. As we have just said it is impossible not to admire a

deed of this nature, both as an act of humane intent and as an instance of the display of great power, and we may even pardon, from its novelty, the want of foresight and judgment exhibited by its originators; but, at the same time, the consequences are too unmistakably bad to excite any other feelings than those of strong condemnation.

A wise expenditure of the time, labor, and money employed in this gigantic act of national repentance, would have been befitting, it is true, of all the romantic incident now connected with it; but it would, nevertheless, have placed the negroes in a far better position than that which they occupy to-day; while, at the same time, a reversion to wilderness of some of the most fertile parts of the earth, would have been effectually prevented. To transport a savage five thousand miles from his native land and to place him in a strange country, and among a people whose language he does not understand, involves a moral obligation which is not so easily discharged as would seem to be implied by the drawing of a check upon the Bank of England for twenty millions sterling. Undoubtedly it was the easiest way of getting rid of both the negro and all responsibility in the matter. It was a cheap purchase of an easy conscience; it was far easier to emancipate and wash one's hands, than it was to assume the responsibility of the guardianship of nearly a million of helpless creatures, the pitiful remnant of perhaps twenty millions torn from their native land. To pursue the latter course and to guard the negro in slavery perhaps half a century longer, and yet to show a true Christian charity toward him, it would have been necessary to expend large sums in appointing numerous superintendents to protect him from the cruelty of his master, and in sending out bands of teachers and missionaries to instruct him; and, perhaps harder than all, to bear the taunts of those whose intemperate zeal can imagine no good for the black race excepting a discharge from that labor which is the compulsory blessing of all mankind. It is far easier to shirk the battle of life, give one's goods to the church, quit the world, and turn monk, than it is to remain in the world and endeavor manfully to combat the evils we cannot entirely cure. In Peru, as is well known, it is not uncommon for ladies who in early life have indulged too freely in the pleasures of the world, to attempt to atone for the follies of youth by an excess of devotion in maturer age; they are called *beatas*, and, urged by their confessors, often betray a zeal more earnest than wise. Burning with an ardor sudden and unnatural, they are apt to undervalue, if not despise the more quiet and consistent piety of their neighbors. Mistaking satiety for self-denial, they intemperately denounce in others, many of the innocent pleasures which they themselves have forsaken more from weariness than from a sense of duty.

The conduct of Great Britain in respect of slavery certainly reminds us, in many ways, of the Spanish *beata*. Her ships embarked to a greater extent in the slave-trade than those of all other nations put together; her colonies have consumed the lives of a greater number

of negroes than those even of Spain, and the wealth poured into her coffers during a period of more than two centuries, by the enormous profits of the slave-trade, is incalculable. All this treasure and the interest thereon accumulated during so long a period, if it could be suddenly identified, would no doubt surprise us by the number of parks, fine estates, costly buildings, and princely fortunes, which would then be shown to owe their origin, like the fortress palaces of Madrid and Toledo, solely to the profits of this iniquitous traffic. Let us, however, acknowledge that, if Great Britain has been the greatest sinner in this business, she has also been, so far as she knew how, the greatest saint.

From the year in which she abolished the trade up to the present moment, she has spared neither men nor means, neither time nor labor, in her arduous efforts to prevent the negroes being kidnapped from Africa; the bones of her sailors and marines embarked in the cause, whiten the unhealthy coasts between Sierra Leone and Fernando Po; her mixed commissions are planted in the burning zones of two hemispheres; her ships-of-war have for half a century beat up and down more than five thousand miles of tropical coasts in the Eastern and Western world, and have snatched from the hands of the man-stealer more than a hundred thousand captives; the ablest of her statesmen have been the warmest advocates of the cause, and, as we have intimated, wherever the British flag is unfurled, there circulates the air of liberty.

But we must confess, nevertheless, that we think her zeal goes too far in the rather intemperate course pursued toward America in this fervor for liberty; slavery in the United States is undeniably a better, happier, and nobler condition than any which has yet fallen to the lot of the negro in this world, at least during any period of which we have knowledge, and for Great Britain to pursue a course which is tending, by the great influence her writers exert in America, to suddenly and violently change that condition into one which reason and all experience convince us must be far worse than the present, appears to us neither wise nor humane.

Now let us examine if there is anything in the circumstances of the emancipated negroes of Jamaica which should induce a real philanthropist to desire the Southern States to follow the example of that island, which we might make the *experimentum crucis* of the Emancipation Act, because it contains about four times as many negroes as any other of the English Antilles.

The number of slaves emancipated by Great Britain in the Western hemisphere amounted to 663,899,* which were scattered over

* The exact distribution of slaves in the several places named was as follows:

Jamaica contained	311,070	Dominica contained	14,175
Honduras "	1,901	Barbuda "	—
Bahamas "	10,086	St. Christopher "	19,780
Barbadoes "	83,150	Nevia "	8,815
Grenada "	23,638	Virg'in Islands "	3,133
St. Vincent "	22,260	Trinidad "	20,057
St. Lucia "	13,291	British Guiana "	52,824
Tobago "	11,569		
Antigua "	20,121		
Montserrat "	6,401		

Total, 663,899

Parliamentary Report, 1845, vol. xxxi.

British Guiana, Honduras, and some fifteen islands of the West Indian Archipelago; of these, 311,070 belonged to the island of Jamaica.

Previous to granting these slaves their freedom, it was argued by many good men, in the style of the excellent Dr. Channing, whose remarks we have cited at the head of this article, that the negro emancipated would have a stimulus to labor, and would become more valuable than ever to the planters of the island; this was the *theory* of those who judged and still judge the colored race by the standard applicable to whites. On the other hand, those who had studied negro character from personal observation and intimate connection with the race, whether in Africa or America, generally maintained that it would be difficult to induce the negro to work, by any means short of coercion. The sequel proves the correctness of this opinion, and further proves, what never has been doubted, that any and every people who, as a nation, pass lives of sloth and complete indolence, are either barbarians, or are relaxing into barbarism with a rapidity proportioned, as a general thing, to the extent of their indolence; for we must reiterate and for ever bear in mind, the great truth, that *industry and social, moral, and religious advancement are inseparable*: and this is that "higher view" of the case, which is still higher than the "*higher view*" of those who sneer at all consideration of the falling off of exports in the West Indies, upon the plea that the interests of the soul are more important than the cotton and sugar interests; we think a strong alliance may be shown between the soul and its welfare, and such vulgar things as even cotton and sugar.

To examine first, then, the decline of industry in Jamaica, we find that the decrease of exports between the years 1831 and 1852 was as follows: we take the three principal articles, and the quantities imported into Great Britain:*

Year.	Sugar, cwt.	Rum, galls.	Coffee, pounds.
1831	1,429,093	3,522,463	15,644,072
1852	511,263	1,590,927	3,786,796

Thus, during the lives of the first generation of freemen, the exports of the island have fallen off, in the case of sugar, to the extent of nearly two thirds; in that of rum, four sevenths; and in that of coffee more than three fourths. But this does not convey a just idea of the extent to which labor has been abandoned, because, owing to the great improvements made in agriculture of late years, but particularly to the immense increase in quantity of sugar extracted from the cane now, compared with former years, on account of the general introduction of steam mills and improved machinery, there ought to be made now by the same number of laborers nearly double the quantity of sugar that was made a quarter of a century ago.†

* McCulloch's *Dictionary of Commerce*. Edition of 1856.

† Mr. Cave, Deputy Chairman of the West India Committee, in a letter published in the *Times*, states that the exports from Cuba and Porto Rico to England alone had increased from 212,871 cwt. to 2,043,529 cwt.—*Times*, Dec. 28, 1857.

We have not selected the above figures in order to make a case, for worse years may be taken than that of 1852. The produce of sugar, for example, in 1853 was only 421,000 cwt.* Mr. Stephen Cave, citing a still later return, makes it 441,197 cwt.†

Such an enormous and rapid decrease in production, of course soon led to the wholesale ruin of the planters, who became bankrupt, and many of the finest estates on the island were abandoned, and have gone to decay. The number of the latter that met this fate between the years 1844 and 1852 was as follows:

231 Sugar Estates, valued at	£1,655,139
243 Coffee Plantations, valued at	494,088
132 Pens, &c., valued at	291,914
Total value.....	£2,441,141‡

Many more went to ruin previous to the first-mentioned of the above years. Mr Baird, who visited the island in 1849, referring to the Report of the House of Assembly, says that of the 653 estates in cultivation in the island, in 1834, the year of abolition, only 503 were cultivated in 1847, the remaining 150 estates, containing 168,032 acres of land, and employing upward of 23,000 laborers, having been abandoned.§

The depreciation in value of property not absolutely ruined, has been equally great. Mr. Murray mentions a piece of property, costing originally £118,000, which had fallen in value to £16,000.¶ Mr. Bigelow also cites many similar instances, as, for example, one estate which had been sold at one time for £18,000, re-sold in 1845 for £1,000. Another, that had fallen from £68,000 to £8,400, &c., &c.

With such facts before us, it is not at all surprising to learn that the ordinary revenue of the island for the year ending October, 1854, was only £96,624, while the expenditure (omitting that for immigration defrayed from the guarantee loan) was £197,633. "A fearful discrepancy," as the governor, Sir Henry Barkly, remarks.¶

Indeed, to such a low point had the island reached in 1854, that it could not afford the expense of taking a census, because the treasury was absolutely bankrupt; a sad condition for the fertile island of Jamaica, with a stout and hearty laboring population of over 350,000 souls. The governor, in his despatch to Lord John Russell, dated May 21, 1855, alludes to the circumstance in these words:

"POPULATION.—The returns under this head, are still, I regret to say, restricted to the information collected at the census of 1844, which, in the first instance, not very trustworthy, has become, from the want of a proper system of registering births, deaths, and marriages, totally destitute of value, looking especially

Nearly all the exports of the island of Cuba, excepting coffee, have doubled since the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies; while the number of sugar mills in that island, which was formerly 300, had increased in 1852 to 16,000.—See Murray's *Lands of the Slave and the Free*, p. 321.

* Gov. Barclay's Despatch, May 30, 1854.—*Par. Rep.*, 1854-'55. † *Times*, Dec. 23, 1857.

‡ *Parliamentary Reports*, 1852-'55, vol. lxvii., p. 188.

§ *West Indies and North America*, vol. i., p. 250.

¶ *Lands of the Slave, &c.*, p. 319.

¶ *Par. Rep.*, 1856, vol. xlii.

to the terrible ravages committed in the interior by two visitations of cholera. The decennial epoch should certainly not have been allowed to expire without a fresh attempt being made to procure reliable statistics on this most important of all subjects, so far as Jamaica is concerned, but *absolute bankruptcy of the treasury has hitherto left me no choice.*"*

From these few facts, the decline of labor, the depreciation of property, the abandonment of estates, the excess of expenditure over income, and a bankrupt treasury, each a sequence of the other, the most careless observer of human nature could write the history and character of the population. We might multiply figures enough to fill volumes on this one point of the material decline of Jamaica. The blue books are full of them, but it would merely tire the reader, and the above appear to be amply sufficient.

We may now trace the intimate connection of immorality, ignorance, and irreligion, with laziness, in doing which, according to the observations of the highest official authorities and of intelligent travellers, the reader will seem to be perusing only that which he has already seen with the eyes of his imagination.

It is well known that among the negroes in all countries and conditions, the great crimes of civilized countries are comparatively rare. Their vices are rather universal sloth, ignorance, pilfering, and the most sensual and degrading immorality, and this species of vice appears to be on the increase in Jamaica. Governor Barkly in his despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated May 30, 1854, writes that :

"The judges unite in deploring the increase of crime of an immoral and degrading character, and I am afraid," he remarks, "that if the police system were as effective as it ought to be, many more convictions would take place."†

The commander of the United States ship *Princeton* informed the Hon. Miss Murray, while in Havana, that he had just returned from a visit to Jamaica, after an interval of ten years' absence, and that he was surprised and shocked at the rapid deterioration of the island; the blacks were "*fast sinking into a state of gross vice and immorality*;" "ladies could not venture out without danger of insult;" he considered the island as well as all the British West Indies on the road to ruin; "and this," says Miss Murray, "is the opinion of every observer I have met with lately, who has been among them—people of different professions and of various shades of politics."‡

In a memorial, addressed by the council and assembly of Jamaica, to her majesty, the Queen, dated February 19, 1852, after alluding to the distressed condition of the island, and the probable complete abandonment of sugar culture throughout the British Antilles, unless a remedy were provided, the moral deterioration of the island is thus noticed :

"In conclusion we would humbly entreat the consideration of your majesty, to the moral effects which must be produced on the lower classes of the population

* *Par. Rep.*, 1856, vol. xiii.

† *Par. Rep.*, 1854-'55.

‡ *Letters from Cuba, &c.* By the Hon. Amelia M. Murray; vol. ii., p. 81.

of this island by the general abandonment of property and withdrawal of capital, now unhappily in progress. Convinced that in granting freedom to the British slave, it never was intended to allow him to sink into a state of barbarism and uncivilization, we still feel it our humble duty to assure your majesty, that the downward progress of the agricultural resources of the colony has been already accompanied by a retrogression in moral conduct on the part of the lower classes, and we are assured that this retrogression must and will, for obvious reasons, keep pace with the destruction of property, and the consequent expulsion from the colony of all whom necessity may not compel to residence, events that must speedily occur, unless your majesty shall be pleased graciously to receive our petition, and we obtain from the Imperial Parliament efficient aid, ere ruin and desolation shall have taken the place of prosperity and cultivation, and religion and morality shall have been superseded by barbarism and superstition.”*

This appeal, earnest as it is, and sad as is the picture drawn, is fully supported in its statements by the representations made by the custos, and clergy, and other inhabitants of St. George, at a public meeting held in July, 1852, and we must suppose that the ministers of religion would not only know pretty well the condition of the negroes, but that they would not desire to make it worse than it really was. In their memorial the following remarks occur:

“The laboring population increase in idleness. So far from seeking labor or employment, or being stimulated by the desire of obtaining wages, they become daily more indifferent, more unwilling, and more idle; preferring squatting on their own, or clandestinely occupying the lands of other persons, particularly those of abandoned estates, i. e. abandoned as to cultivation, but not abandoned as to ownership. They attend less to the instruction of their religious pastors and ministers: they pay less attention to the education of their children, if it is attended with any contribution from themselves. Vice and immorality are on the increase, and shortly, if the island does not revive from its present prostration, it will revert into semi-barbarism.”†

Captain Hamilton, on his examination, as a witness before a select committee of Parliament, stated that Jamaica had become “*a desert*,” and being asked if he thought the term “*desert*” was quite applicable to the state of things there, replied: “I should say peculiarly applicable, without any exaggeration.”‡

It would afford us some consolation if we could only believe that all this vice and moral deterioration belonged principally to the generation passing away, but, unfortunately, the very latest accounts from the island—those of March, 1858—show too plainly that the degradation of the parents is fully inherited with interest, as is generally the case, by the children. We read in the report of a committee, interested in the cause of education, who lately assembled in the capital of the island, the following statements:

“It is a fact no less true than startling, that since the abolition of slavery, in spite of all our efforts to grapple with crime, juvenile depravity has been materially and progressively increasing throughout the island, and especially in Kingston, its great mercantile metropolis.”

Merchants and shop-keepers, masters and mistresses were suffering

* Par. Rep., 1852-53: Colonies.

† Par. Rep., vol. lxvii., 1852-53.

‡ Par. Rep., vol. xxxix., 1852-53.

from having their property pilfered by a horde of vagrant children, whose whole livelihood consisted in picking and stealing.

"It is no unfrequent occurrence," continues the report, "to hear obscene words and dreadful oaths shouted from the lips of children, *hardly able to speak*, but who, it is too evident, have obtained a fearful precocity in wickedness. But the far more fruitful source of juvenile depravity, is to be found in the growing neglect of marriage, and consequent prevalence of concubinage, among the poorest classes of the community. In addition to this, many of the artisans and small tradesmen of Kingston have emigrated from Jamaica, leaving deserted families, so that from these and other causes, the number of illegitimate and fatherless children, bears an almost incredible proportion in the statistics of births. In Kingston alone, hundreds of children perish annually within the first few hours of their existence."

This statement seems to confirm, or further explain, the statistical fact in Gov. Barkly's despatch of May, 1855, in which it is stated that the returns of schools show a diminution of two thousand children.†

We suppose that history presents no instance, at least, excepting black populations, of a people tumbling into decay and ruin, with the rapidity which the above incontestible facts and observations prove Jamaica to have been doing.

There is generally to be observed among nations, a long struggle extending through many generations, before final decay; the process of decline is gradual, almost imperceptible; but in this island, the people seem to hasten to embrace destruction; their only ambition appears to be to get back as speedily as possible to a state of barbarism, and to live, as their ancestors lived in Africa, in dirty villages, surrounded by filth, removed from all responsibility, and passing their lives in ignorance, immorality and sloth. This course of life is one easily pursued by the negroes of Jamaica and other tropical islands: the climate being warm, they require neither clothing nor fires; the fruits of the earth growing almost spontaneously, little or no labor is requisite to procure food;‡ large numbers of estates being

* *The Philanthropist*. London: April 1, 1858.

† *Par. Rep.*, 1856, vol. xlii.

‡ Ease of subsistence in the West Indies is greatly favored by the plantain or banana, which, when baked before getting fully ripe, is a tolerable substitute for bread, and is used as such in Cuba, where we have been on many plantations without once seeing bread made of flour. Bananas fried, and eaten with sugar and rice, make a very palatable dish, largely used in the south; they are also an excellent fruit in their natural state. An acre of ground planted with bananas will yield, annually, a much larger quantity of food than any other product.

Colonel Flint estimates that in Porto Rico, the labor of one man is sufficient to maintain two hundred and forty individuals, on plantains, for a year, allowing each man to consume ten daily.—*Past and Present State of Puerto Rico*, p. 105.

Humboldt, whose researches nothing escapes, says:

"I doubt if there exists on the face of the earth another plant, which in a small space, can produce an equal quantity of nourishing food. Eight or nine months after the shoot is planted, the banana begins to develop itself, and the fruit may be gathered in the tenth or eleventh month. . . . In a space of 100 metres square, and in one year, he estimates that a banana field will yield 4,000 lbs. of nourishing substance. The produce of banana is to that of wheat, as 133 to 1, and to that of potatoes, as 44 to 1.—*Essai Politique sur La Nouvelle Espagne*, t. 3, pp. 28 to 30.

Lindley says: "They are most valuable plants, both for the abundance of nutritive food afforded by their fruit, called in the tropics plantains and bananas, and for the many domestic purposes to which the gigantic leaves of some species are applied. The latter are used for thatching Indian cottages; for a natural cloth, from which the traveller may eat

abandoned, they find it easier to "squat," and occupy lands to which they have no right, than by honest labor to acquire the means of purchase, or if they do purchase, the price is as nothing, owing to the depreciation of property. Education they have no desire for; religious instruction is not wanted; thus large numbers of them pass lives which would disgrace the lowest order of animals; for pigs even, though they may be sluggish, and ignorant, and *piggish*, can scarcely be called immoral and irreligious.

But all this is not the worst, nor the most cruel result of this sudden emancipation of the negroes from all restraint.

The inevitable consequences of indolence, ignorance, and vice, are filth and disease. Now, in savage countries, as we know, a great many of the worst diseases of civilized life are unknown, and others assume a milder type. Among the Bechuanas, for instance, there is no consumption nor scrofula, and cancer and cholera are unknown.* In Yoruba, though small-pox is common, "it is little regarded, because it seldom proves fatal."† But as soon as savage tribes come into close and habitual contact with civilization, they seem to contract all its diseases with a terrible facility, without being able to avail themselves successfully, either of its preventions or its remedies. This has generally been the case with aborigines on their own soil; but when removed, and placed in the situation of the slaves in the United States, with abundant medical attendance, and a mind to exercise that restraint over them, which their own minds are incapable of exercising, their freedom from disease, and successful treatment while sick, has been fully equal to that of the most favored whites. But what is the case with these unfortunate negroes of Jamaica? Improvident, and thrown entirely upon their own resources by their zealous friends, they have pursued a course of life which, while inviting disease, has also precluded the possibility of relief; not even the warmest and most enthusiastic friends of the negro have yet shown themselves humane enough to send a band of physicians to Jamaica to attend the sick bed-sides of 350,000 idle blacks, who have no money to pay them; and the negroes themselves, who in Africa had their list of remedies for all the diseases to which they were liable, have now lost the tradition of them, besides being subjected to a new class of ailments, the treatment of which they never understood. How cruel this single feature of emancipation is, will be seen by the following memorial of the president and members of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, which also tends still further

his food; as a material for basket-making, and finally, they yield a most valuable flax (*umza textilis*), from which some of the finest muslins of India are prepared.—*Lindley's Vegetable Kingdom*, p. 163.

* *Livingstone*, p. 505.

† *Adventures and Missionary Labors in Africa*. By T. J. Bowen, chap. xx. In many parts of Central Africa, however, small-pox is very fatal, see *Lander's Journal*, chap. xiii. It was even found by Dr. Barth, in the midst of Sahara. Some of the pagan tribes practice inoculation for it, but the Mohammedans will not do this, being restrained by religious prejudices.—*Barth*, vol. 1, chap. xvii, and vol. 2, chap. xxxiii and xxxvii.

to show how health of body, as well as of soul, depends on industry and material prosperity :

"Difficult it would be," says the report, "to overrate or exaggerate the poverty and distress which have now prostrated this once rich and flourishing island, for wherever the eye is turned, wide-spread ruin meets the view. The bustle of business is no longer perceived in our towns; shipping has almost deserted our harbors; the busy industry of the sugar estate has given place to the stillness of desolation, and the cultivated field is lapsing fast into its primeval state of weeds and jungle.

"The decline and fall of the colonial interests, have, as a necessary consequence, affected severely those of our own profession; and many medical men, who formerly practiced here, have been driven away, to seek in other countries that livelihood which was not here to be obtained.

"During the late cholera pestilence, with which it pleased Providence to afflict us, the inadequacy of medical attendance to the wants of the community was made painfully apparent, and thousands fell helpless victims to the disease, whom medical assistance might probably have saved. Another scourge, 'small-pox,' is at this moment raging as an epidemic in the island, to which many of our peasantry are falling an easy prey, and we regret to assert that diseases generally (the usual attendants of pauperism and misery), have been on the increase during the last few years."

Cholera is literally the scavenger disease, a fact now of practical recognition in all our large cities; more than any other disease, it seeks the haunts of filth and vice, and there slays its thousands. How fearfully must its ravages be increased when not combated by medical aid, nor sufficient sanitary police measures. In Jamaica, Mr. Buxton estimates that during the late visit of this disease and the small pox, 40,000 persons perished!† This would be fully equivalent to a decimation of the population.‡

But let not the reader suppose that Jamaica is an exaggerated case. In Barbadoes, according to Dr. Thomas, out of a population of 140,000 souls, 135,000 were more or less affected—50,000 had cholera in its developed form, and of these 18,000, or *thirty-six per cent. died*, making a little more than one seventh of the whole population of the island.§ In St. Kitts, according to Dr. Cooper, 3,920 perished, out of a population of 24,571, being nearly one sixth of the whole population, were swept away! Antigua is perhaps better provided with medical attendance than the majority of the British West India islands, and yet we find, in a parliamentary paper, that out of a population of 31,000 souls, not more than 8,056 are provided with regular medical aid.||

Such details are painful to contemplate, and we cannot help lamenting that a portion of the large sum contributed in the United

* *Parliamentary Papers*, 1852-53, vol. lxvii., p. 143. † *Times*, Jan. 4, 1853.

‡ According to Gov. Barkly's estimate, the population has not increased since 1844. It was in that year, according to a not very exact census, 377,433, composed as follows:

Blacks	293,128
Colored	68,529
White	15,776

377,433

See *Par. Rep.*, 1845, *Colonies*, vol. xxxi.

§ *Par. Rep.*, 1856, vol. xlii., *Colonies*.

|| *Ibid.*

States every year, for the purpose of publishing and circulating incendiary tracts, tending to reduce 4,000,000 more helpless beings to even a worse state than that just depicted, should not be devoted to the medical relief, and moral and religious instruction of the injured black race in Jamaica and other British isles.

Such is a brief picture of the condition of the largest body of negroes in the English Antilles, after a quarter of a century of freedom. Is there anything in their situation to make a humane person desire to place others in a similar condition?

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—COMMERCE OF SOUTHERN CITIES—NORFOLK, VA.

From the annual report of the Merchants' Exchange at Norfolk, we glean the following statistics, which may be compared advantageously with those previously published by us:—

EXPORTS.				
	Foreign.	Coastwise.	Total.	Value.
Dried Apples,..	..	47,500	47,500 bu.	\$82,775
Apple Brandy, .	..	11,274	1,274 bls.	50,000
Beans,	572	3,321	3,893 bu.	3,893
Corn,	89,494	1,442,300	1,531,794	1,225,485
Cotton,	280	17,488	17,768 bales.	888,400
Fish,	145	10,592	10,737 bls.	53,633
Flour,	16,028	9,077	25,105	163,182
Flaxseed, .....	..	2,052	2,052	2,565
Oats,	100	52,430	52,530	20,953
Peas,	2,665	39,817	42,512	45,658
Dried Peaches, .	..	11,790	11,790	58,950
Pea Nuts, .....	..	102,208	102,208	91,782
Rosin,	3,336	25,191	28,527 bls.	59,349
Staves,	5,941,124	3,314,785	9,255,909	370,000
Shingles,	5,556,750	5,685,677	11,242,427	78,680
Spirits Turp'e..	3,294	8,988	12,282 gal.	4,913
Tar,	1,627	9,308	11,935 bls.	23,870
Turp'e, Crude, ..	..	1,617	1,617	5,500
Wheat, .....	..	93,639	93,639 bu.	117,036
R. R. Crossties, 140,370	..	..	140,370	56,200
Hoops,	21,000	..	21,000	42,000
Lime, .....	..	621	621 bls.	621
				\$3,445,545

In addition to the above, there have been exported by steamers, green peas, strawberries, tomatoes, radishes, rhubarb, asparagus, apples, pears, peaches, cucumbers, potatoes, &c., to

	Packages.	Value.
New-York,	52,310	\$183,053 50
Philadelphia,	7,305	25,567 50
Baltimore,	67,424	235,984 00
Richmond,	1,565	5,487 50
		\$450,080 50
		128,595

There were also exported coastwise from 75,000 to 100,000 water melons. The "truck" figures show an increase over the previous year of 32,496 packages, and in value of \$113,736. Much of the "truck" shipped to Baltimore went through by railroad to Philadelphia, Washington and Cincinnati.

GRAIN, ETC.

The crops of wheat, corn, oats, peas and peanuts, were unusually short, and consequently the business in these was less than the year previous.

Receipts of wheat are estimated at 200,000 bushels, of which there were exported 93,629 bushels; a considerable quantity was returned to the interior (we suppose to Richmond), and the remainder manufactured into about 10,000 barrels of flour, in Norfolk.

Receipts of corn are estimated at 2,000,000 bushels, of which there were received by the Dismal Swamp Canal 1,443,065; by Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad, 54,363 bushels, and the balance from other sources. Norfolk has always been the best market in Virginia for corn, and prices there usually ranging two or three cents higher than in Baltimore; and prices so nearly approximating those of New-York are obtained, that there is left no margin for profit between the two cities. This arises from the fact that orders, direct from Eastern markets, are executed in Norfolk.

LUMBER

Shows a decrease of exports. A small quantity only of oak and pine ship-timber is exported. The chief articles of export are staves and shingles. The supply of staves is becoming less every year, consequent upon the increasing scarcity of timber. It is estimated that equally as large a quantity of shingles as are named above, are shipped from Deep Creek.

FLOUR AND COTTON.

In these two articles there has been a most gratifying increase, which will be seen by the following comparison:

Exports.	1858.	1859.	Increase.
Flour,.....	17,419.....	25,105.....	7,786 bbls.
Cotton,	6,174.....	17,768	11,594 "

Showing an increase in flour of nearly fifty per cent., and in cotton of nearly two hundred per cent.

In the exports of tar, rosin and turpentine, there has been an increase also.

OYSTERS AND FRESH FISH.

The inspection of oysters during the year for the whole State amounted to 2,301,719 bushels. Much of this business belongs to Norfolk. The chief inspector estimates that the oysters taken from the waters of Virginia were last year about twenty millions of bushels. A very large business is done, at the proper season, in fresh fish, supplying distant points by steamers and railroads, estimated at not less than \$75,000 per annum.

SALT FISH.

North Carolina formerly supplied the entire demand; but supplies from that source were gradually superseded by the Northern herrings, until the comparison shows receipts for the year from Northern ports, 12,228 bbls; North Carolina, 1,500 bbls.

We call the attention of our numerous North Carolina readers to the above.

MANUFACTURES.

The following estimate is supposed to be very nearly correct:—

Agricultural implements,.....	\$100,000
Shooks and cooper stuff,.....	150,000
Carriages and harness,.....	40,000
Tin and copper ware,.....	36,000
Cigars,.....	25,000
Iron and machinery,.....	70,000
Cordage, twine and oakum,.....	30,000
Soap and candles,.....	54,000
Rosin, oil, &c.,.....	12,000
Cabinet-ware, &c.,.....	75,000
Flour and meal,.....	110,000

Total,\$702,000

The Norfolk city mill is worthy of note. The building is substantial, 100 feet long and 60 feet wide, and 3 stories high, furnished with four run of stones, and capable of grinding 140 bbls. flour in twenty-four hours. The product was 10,000 barrels during the year. Additions are to be made to the machinery this year, which will double its capacity.

The success of this establishment illustrates what may be done by the application of capital, skill, business tact, and steam, to other manufactures.

SHIPPING.

The arrivals were :

Foreign, ..	43
Coastwise,.....	4,145

Total,.....4,188

There are a large number of small vessels engaged in the trade of the James, York, Rappahannock and Potomac rivers and Eastern shore of Virginia, of whose arrival and departure no record is given.

AVENUES OF TRADE AND TRAVEL.

These are Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad, Dismal Swamp Canal, and Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal. The two latter open up to Norfolk 1,500 miles of inland navigation in North Carolina. We name, also, the Currituck and Norfolk Steamboat Company and Seaboard Towing and Transportation Company. The latter is designed to secure a large share of the present business of the James River and Kanawha Canal, bringing boats from any point on the canal to Norfolk without breaking bulk.

The several lines of steamers which connect Norfolk with other ports in and out of the State are :

New-York and Virginia Steamship Company, with two steamers.

Cromwell Line, to New-York, with three steamers.

The Union Company, to Philadelphia, with three propellers.

Richmond and James River Steamboat Company, with two steamers.

Norfolk and Chesapeake Steamboat Company, and the Norfolk, Smithfield and York River Company, each one boat.

With the well-known natural advantages enjoyed by Norfolk, and with all the improved artificial avenues of trade and travel which she enjoys, Norfolk has a promise of a rapid increase of her trade and commerce ; and, especially, as some of the works of internal improvements, terminating at her port, penetrate fertile regions which have hitherto been shut out from a market.

THE TIDE-WATER LINE OF VIRGINIA.

The report earnestly hopes—and so do we—that the coming legislature will pass the requisite bills for the union of the navigable waters of the James and Kanawha rivers, and thus complete one of the grandest schemes that has engaged the attention of the country since the proposition of the Erie canal.

DIRECT TRADE WITH EUROPE.

The President of the Association has been in correspondence with M. E. Lacouture, Esq., and others in France, on this subject. The report says that the prospect of the early inauguration of a direct European trade is better than at any previous period.

2.—AMERICAN AND BRITISH TONNAGE.

The following table shows the progress of tonnage owned in the United States and Great Britain in the last seventy years :

GREAT BRITAIN.				UNITED STATES.	
Sailing.		Steamers.		Sailing.	Steamers.
No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.		
1788....	11,429	1,278,051	—	201,262	—
1814....	22,089	2,504,297	1 69	1,368,127	—
1832....	19,450	2,224,350	343 35,228	1,439,450	90,632
1848....	24,162	3,166,913	1,033 231,008	3,154,041	427,890
1858....	18,429	3,830,119	899 381,363	4,312,064	729,390

The apparent decline in the English tonnage in 1832, arose from the fact, that in that year there was marked off, under a revision of the register, a quantity lost and condemned in many previous years. In the United States the same revision was had in 1829; since then, in both countries the returns are kept more regularly. The general result gives a great increase in sailing tonnage in the United States, as compared with Great Britain. In respect of steamer tonnage, the English return does not include river steamers; and it is also the case that in the English mode of measurement, the room occupied by the machinery is not taken into the account of the tonnage; this makes an important difference in the aggregate result, and greatly reduces the quantity of steamer tonnage in the United States as compared with that owned in Great Britain. In the commerce of the world, since the modification of the navigation act of Great Britain, and the working of reciprocity treaties, the British tonnage has increased and maintained its share of the trade; but the American tonnage has grown into paramount importance, as a consequence of the greater freedom, the business construction and the employment of the vessels have enjoyed. The modes of measurement meet the restrictions upon the trade. The apprentice system, and numberless other legal restrictions, have all served to warp and cramp the architectural skill of the English, in addition to the difficulties they have labored under in regard to building materials. In the United States, the greatest abundance of material has offered the best facilities for the exercise of skill in adopting the form of vessels to the trade required of them; and the result has been such a construction as has made American ships the models for other nations, and have caused American ships to have the preference for all branches of trade. The evidence before the Parliamentary committee in relation to the navigation laws, was conclusive as to the superior advantages of American ships. As an instance: an eminent London merchant stated that a St. John's ship, the Duke of Wellington, was loading at Boston, and he had one hundred bales of Cuba tobacco, which had been sent from New-York to Boston for shipment to London in a British ship—the English laws forbidding an American ship to bring it. The ship made a long passage, six weeks longer than if in an American vessel, and the tobacco sold for 1s. 3d. instead of 3s. 3d., the price that it would have obtained had it come by the American. The result was a loss of £600. This, among other reasons, was given for the preference always given to American vessels, and the restraint and loss which general trade suffered by compelling merchants to employ a certain class of carriers, when there are so many others that will do their work better. In the commerce of the world, the American ships are the best and cheapest carriers, and whalers. In the latter capacity they enjoy a monopoly—not a legal monopoly, but the monopoly of merit, and those who use oil are benefited by the superior address with which it is procured and furnished. It is a remarkable fact, that the whole net work of legal "protection" and "restraints," thrown

around English shipping interests from the time of Cromwell, only serve as machinery of government and political patronage, while England had no rivals. Down to the peace of 1814, those laws did no harm: soon after the peace, when American enterprise began to show itself upon the ocean, it was discovered that those old laws were the greatest obstacles to British success, that they must be abolished and cast aside if England wished to maintain her position upon the seas. It was not, however, for forty years, that old prejudices gave way before the demonstration afforded by the yacht America. In ocean steam tonnage the English are apparently getting the start, and probably for the reason that the government of the United States "protects" steamships by mail contract.

3.—INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

In the last twenty years the most remarkable increase has been in the international exports of the United States and Great Britain, as well as with most other countries, but the resources and wealth of France have apparently been developed in a more rapid ratio than most other countries under the empire. The exports of Great Britain and the United States, as the most active commercial countries, exhibit a higher degree of commercial intercourse. England, for many years, labored under that restrictive system, which, born of the dark ages, was supposed to prosper England at the expense of other nations, and was called the protective system. It was the offspring of that principle laid down by Lord Bacon, and long followed by statesmen, that weakening and crippling a rival nation was the same thing as strengthening one's own country. To restrain commerce and hamper industry, was supposed to be the readiest means of making the one more productive and the other more extensive. During the wars of Europe, and the marine ascendancy of England, those laws had little effect, because England was nearly without a rival, either on the seas or in manufacturing industry; she prospered, therefore, in spite of them; but when, with the peace of 1815, the United States appeared on the ocean as a rival power, and Europe had turned her bayonets into spinning jennys, and her caissons into looms, it was found that those old laws had, from being inoffensive, become obstacles. The navigation laws were at once abolished, and the old protection laws fell rapidly, one after the other. The inhibition to export wool was removed, and soon that to export machinery, and taxes on imported articles fell, one after the other, without producing the desired effect, until, in 1842, Sir Robert Peel finished with the old system. Since that moment England has made rapid strides, and France, under the empire, has entered into the same way.

The exports of England and the United States have progressed as follows, reduced to dollars:

GREAT BRITAIN.		Increase.
1842.....	\$229,324,041	
1852.....	377,891,863	148,527,822
1856.....	560,596,241	182,704,378
1858.....	564,542,441	3,946,200
UNITED STATES.		Increase.
1842.....	\$92,969,966	
1852.....	192,368,984	90,398,988
1856.....	310,586,330	118,217,346
1858.....	298,758,220	

The figures give a prodigious development of trade, and indicate the movements of the commercial world. Since England is the great depot for raw materials and produce for the commercial world, her ample warehouses receive the surplus of all nations; and thence are derived the supplies for industry of most nations of Europe. The United States have exported food, materials, and gold, in liberal measure, which have found a market in the rapidly developing prosperity of the continent and of England. The great interchange has been be-

tween England and the United States, and this natural intercourse has progressed as follows :

EXPORTS.

1842—England to United States.....	\$17,117,219
United States to England.....	38,234,511
1852—England to United States.....	79,116,289
United States to England.....	110,803,055
1856—England to United States.....	106,083,112
United States to England.....	160,741,372
1858—England to United States.....	67,822,921
United States to England.....	156,009,200

Thus the exports of the United States to Great Britain have been largely in excess of the quantities taken from her. These exports have embraced gold, which, in the last ten years, has become a staple mining production and export of the United States. The figures for British exports do not include gold, as a matter of course, since they represent only British productions. For the same reason the United States exports do represent gold, which is a United States production. The fund accumulated in London to American credit, by this large excess of exports, is drawn against from all quarters, in payment of goods imported from other countries. These bills draw gold rapidly from London, in years of active imports into the United States—more particularly in years of short harvests in England. When the English harvests are short, she is required to remit gold in the purchase of food, and in those years the sales of American breadstuffs become active; they stimulate larger purchases of goods, wines, and silks of France, etc., and for these purchases the bills running on England for payment swell the amount of gold drawn from her. The English trade with the north of Europe has not increased in the same proportion as the United States trade in the same direction, as follows :

EXPORTS.

1842—England to North of Europe.....	\$98,011,012
United States to North of Europe.....	27,556,653
1852—England to North of Europe.....	102,591,207
United States to North of Europe.....	39,370,307
1856—England to North of Europe.....	170,451,021
United States to North of Europe.....	68,637,310
1858—England to North of Europe.....	185,189,688
United States to North of Europe.....	61,581,104

The increase of England's exports have been mostly to her own colonies, more particularly to Australia and New Zealand. The course of trade seems annually to become more clearly marked as between the production of manufactured articles and raw tropical products. The largest portion of the increased exports of the United States are food, cotton, and gold. The imports of merchandise from Europe and England are necessarily the products of their industry, which are the only means with which they can pay. We have a surplus of materials of manufacture, of food, and of gold. If we sell any or either of these articles, clearly the pay must be had in other commodities, and manufactured goods are the only medium in which England can pay. Unless intercourse between the two countries is stopped altogether, we must take pay in manufactures; and the more liberal the terms on which those goods are received, the greater will be the amount of our sales.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE.

I.—SYSTEM OF HUSBANDRY, ETC., FOR THE SOUTH.

BY H. W. RAVENEL, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE chief business of horticulture is with the cultivated plants. These all derive their value from some quality which has been improved upon from the wild state. Many of them are monstrosities in nature, and have lost more or less those distinctive characters which, in the wild state, were kept clear and precise, and on which classification is founded; but they are instructive to the vegetable physiologist, as indicating the tendency in certain plants, when kept in a high state of cultivation, to deviate from the normal type.

This tendency has been taken advantage of by skillful gardeners and fruit growers; and the result of their labors, through a long series of years and many generations, is the improvement we now see among our cultivated fruits and vegetables.

As the plants which enter into the economy of horticulture are used for very different purposes, a knowledge of these elementary truths in vegetable physiology, which I have endeavoured to explain, may offer us hints as to the proper mode of effecting an increase in certain organs, and a consequent increase of production in those parts which are valuable, and which we may desire to develop more fully.

Thus, in some cases, we desire to increase the production of the *seed*, where the grain is the valuable part, as in the cereals—Indian corn, wheat, rice, oats, rye, &c. Sometimes it is only the *appendage to the seed*, as in the wool of the cotton plant. In the hemp or flax it is the *woody fibre* that is used, and consequently, increase of size in that part is sought after. In the Irish potato it is the *subterranean stem* which is the only part used, and, therefore, the treatment of the plant must be towards that object. In many of the garden vegetables, the *root* is forced into undue development, as in the beet, carrot, &c.; in others the *leaves*, as in the cabbage and lettuce; whilst in the common artichoke it is the *flower bud* alone that is eatable, and accordingly, this has been highly developed.

Among our common fruits, the apple, pear, and peach, this improvement has been carried, perhaps, to greater extent even, than among garden vegetables.

Their origin dates back beyond historical times, and as far as we know they have always been among the domestic plants and under cultivation.

To *size and flavor* of fruit, the two most obvious qualities for improvement which would be aimed at, has been added the capacity of *ripening* their fruit at *different* seasons throughout the year; and if the feat is not already accomplished, it is so near that we may confidently expect, under the skillful and scientific treatment of nurserymen and amateurs, it will not be long before the pear and apple will be a common luxury, to be enjoyed through the whole year.

The very interesting question then arises, if we can, by any peculiar treatment, so stimulate the productive tendencies of the plant as to effect an increase in that particular organ which is valuable.

By the use of certain kinds of manure, by forcing, or by pruning, by frequent transplanting, and other artificial processes, gardeners have so stimulated the growth of certain organs as to produce an undue development of these parts.

In the *Brasica Oleracea*, a sea-shore plant in its wild state, the tendency to shoot out clusters of tender buds has been so much developed as to produce the firmly headed cabbage and the rich cauliflower of our gardens with all their varieties. The Irish potato, which, on the coast of Chili, its native place, produces only a small and bitter tuber, has become, by cultivation, one of the most important of vegetables. The rose and dahlia, the Narcissus and many others, have, by peculiar culture, had their floral organs doubled and trebled in size and number, and correspondingly improved in brilliancy of color.

There seems to be in certain plants, and especially in those which have been long subjected to artificial treatment, a tendency to deviate from the typical state, and to form varieties, which continue permanent as long as the peculiar conditions under which they originated, exist.

This *centrifugal* tendency, if we may use the expression, has been taken advantage of, and thus we have those permanent varieties in the animal and vegetable kingdom. When the peculiar conditions, whether of soil, or of climate, or of treatment, or all combined, cease to exist, the tendency is to revert back to the typical state; and thus we have to follow out the analogies, a *centripetal* as well as a *centrifugal* tendency in plants and animals.

What are the causes which lead to the origination of new varieties, or *sports of nature*, as they are sometimes called, has never been discovered. It is one of those mysteries connected with the distribution of qualities in vital organs which science may never be able to penetrate.

In many of our garden vegetables, their purity and productiveness depend upon the seed being raised in the country of their birth-place, where they have the same conditions which brought them into existence—others, which seem to adapt themselves more readily in change, are more easily propagated. In most cases, seeds that have been raised at a sufficient distance from varieties of the same species, keep their variety pure, but wherever varieties are allowed to grow together, adulteration takes place, which shows itself in the next generation.

Among our fruit trees, where varieties having different qualities, are growing together, this intermixture always takes place. Hence we can never depend upon the seed of these trees, for fruit of identical qualities with the parent. The only certain mode is to take a part of the parent itself, in the form of a bud or cutting, and by grafting that upon the stock of a young tree, we have one in all respects similar to that from which the cutting was taken.

It is a fact long known to nurserymen, that if we take all the seeds of a certain apple, or pear, and plant them, the trees which spring from these seeds will give fruit differing more or less in quality, perhaps no two exactly alike, and none like the parent. In allusion to this fact, Dr. Lindley alludes to the "Ribston pippins" of England, a seedling of most excellent quality, "whilst the 'sister Ribston pippin,' raised from a seed of the same apple, was a white, semi-transparent, sour-fleshed apple, or rather a large crab. It, therefore, appears that the same fruit may contain the germ of good or bad, both protected by the same pulp and nourished by the same juice."

Of a thousand seedlings which may be raised, perhaps there may be not one equal to the parent. They will all differ more or less in slight degree from each other; but if one only of this number proves to be a fruit of superior qualities, it may be preserved and propagated by means of buds and grafts. This is the origin of all our improved varieties, from the seed at first, and afterwards continued by buds and grafts.

When a seedling is thus obtained, whether among fruit trees, grapes, or roses, whose qualities are such that it is desirable to retain it identically as it is, a name is given to it, under which it is forever known in the catalogue of fruits, and every tree for all future time which goes by that name must be a fragment from the original seedling, or from one on which the original has been grafted or budded. This identity is continued from one tree to another, and from place to place, in constant succession and descent, as long as that variety is propagated, so that no matter how long since the original seedling came into existence, whether ten or two hundred years ago, we know that all the trees of this particular variety are parts and fragments of the original parent seedling.

This is well understood among pomologists, and no nurseryman who values his reputation would venture to sell under that name a tree not budded or grafted from a part of that original tree to which the name was first given.

With respect to the "wearing out" of races or varieties of plants, which was a subject once of much discussion among horticulturists and fruit growers, and even now has advocates in its favor, I will adduce the testimony of three writers on the subject, whose authority among English, American, and French horticulturists cannot be questioned.

Dr. Lindley says, in his "Theory and Practice of Horticulture:" "It has been often asserted the propagation by seed is the only natural process of multiplication, and that by propagation by division the races wear out; that when a tree or other perennial plant becomes unhealthy from old age, all the offspring pre-

viously obtained from it by cuttings, in all parts of the world, becomes unhealthy too. Is such a doctrine a reasonable inference from known facts? or is it forced upon us by evidence, although not deducible from mere reason? This is an important question, to a labored advocacy of which pamphlets and newspapers have been abundantly brought into requisition." P. 471.

"The first person who proposed this theory was the late Thomas Andrew Knight, who in the latter part of the last century, finding that the orchards of Herefordshire no longer contained healthy trees of certain varieties of apple, which were said to have flourished fifty years before, and failing in his attempt to restore health to such varieties by grafting, assumed that old age had overtaken them, and that they were incurable. Thence he extended the theory to all other plants; and here and there, writers on vegetable physiology, rather out of respect to Mr. Knight's great name than from any correct examination of the facts for themselves, have blindly adopted his views; but reason and evidence are alike opposed to the conclusion, which seems to have sprung out of a mistaken application of the laws of animal life to that of vegetables, and a desire to push analogy beyond its proper limits." (Theory and Practice of Horticulture, p. 475.)

Downing, as quoted by Dr. Lindley, says:—"Certain French writers about this time, gladly seized Knight's theory as an explanation of the miserable state into which the fine old sorts of pears had fallen about Paris, owing to bad culture and propagation. They sealed the death warrant, in like manner, of the Brown beurre, Doyenne, Chaumontel, and many others. Notwithstanding this, and that ten or fifteen years have elapsed since, it is worthy of notice that the repudiated apples and pears still hold their place among all the best cultivators in both England and France. Nearly half the peach trees annually introduced into this country (the United States) from France are the Doyenne and Beurre. And the 'extinct varieties' seem yet to bid defiance to theorists and bad cultivation."

"We may easily conceive," says De Candolle, the distinguished botanist and vegetable physiologist, "that every cultivated variety owed its origin to some special circumstance which once occurred, and but once. In such a case, the variety has been multiplied by division, and every plant so obtained from it has been a portion of the same individual, which accounts for their all being exactly like each other. An identity of origin of all the plants of the same variety has led some physiologists to imagine that those varieties or fractions of an individual might die of old age. But it is difficult to admit, upon such a single fact, an hypothesis opposed to all other facts. That varieties will last so long as man takes care of them, appears to be proved by many of them having been preserved from the most remote periods. But it is also certain that negligence will cause some to disappear, just as accident or industry brings others into existence." (Phys. Vegetale, p. 731.)

What we call varieties, therefore, are nothing more than seedlings of our cultivated plants. They may be inferior and worthless, or they may be very superior. They are all variations from the original wild plants as they were in a state of nature, with certain improved qualities impressed upon them through successive generations by artificial treatment and by cross-fecundation.

These varieties thus springing up, show, from the very fact of their birth-place, that they are hardy varieties, and specially adapted by their constitutions to the soil and climate in which they originate.

I dwell upon this point because I believe it contains the germ of our future success, if we persevere in the right direction.

Is not this the triumph which has been achieved in the cultivation of cotton? Here is a plant which, in its wild state, is of woody structure and arborescent size, perennial in its habits, changed by long cultivation to an herbaceous annual of moderate dimensions, becoming thereby a more prolific bearer, concentrating its energies within a more limited season, and affording, by its smaller size and the increased facility of harvest, a capacity of productiveness which is unparalleled in the history of any other plant, and which, without these material advantages acquired from long cultivation, could never have entered, as it now does, into the economy of every-day life, and furnished clothing and employment to so many millions of human beings.

In framing, therefore, a system of husbandry for the South, we must consider the peculiarity of our climate and soil, differing, as it does, so widely from that of the North and of Europe. Their experience will avail us but little. Varieties of plants and animals which have originated there, and have been found thrifty and suitable to their climate, when brought to the South, and losing those conditions under which they were called into life, have degenerated, or have failed to keep up to the standard which they maintained in their native region.

In our Northern States the climate is more similar to that of Europe, where these improvements have been going on for hundreds of years, and thus they have the advantage of using the experience of the older countries, as the commencement of their progress—of building on a foundation which others have laid. We have endeavored to do the same thing here; we have tried time after time, the improved varieties of the North and of Europe, until successive failures have at length made it apparent that we cannot rely upon their experience. We must work out our own necessities.

We may derive much benefit from their progress, and in certain cases we may even adopt successfully their plans; but we must guard against following their experience blindly.

Frequent trials have been made here at the South to cultivate clover, and the grasses for pasture and hay, but success has been very limited. I am inclined to think that our light soils and long wet summers will always forbid their profitable culture, except in the mountain regions, and in certain peculiarly favorable situations. Many of the improved breeds of animals have been introduced at the South, but, as a general rule, they have not kept up their standard, even with the greatest care. Among garden vegetables, the cabbage, Irish potato, onion, and some others; and among fruits, the apple, cherry, plum, gooseberry, currant, and raspberry, obtain a perfection there, which they rarely reach here.

Now if we desire to introduce these plants which, by their nature, by their constitutions, are unfitted to endure our long, hot, and dry summers, we may attain a measure of success by adopting the mode which has been found by experience to be the only safe and correct one; not by using these varieties which have originated in a different climate, and are unsuitable to ours, but by raising seedlings, and thus obtaining those sorts which will be better adapted to their new condition. This has been accomplished already in the case of the apple, which by its nature is fitted for more northern latitudes. By a careful collection of the best Southern seedlings, our energetic nurserymen have given us a catalogue of different kinds which are said to be fully equal in quality to the best Northern fruit, and which have the additional advantage of ripening earlier, as well as keeping through the winter.

The cultivation of the grape, which now seems increasing at the South, and is destined, I believe, to become an important object of husbandry, will probably have to be modified very much from the European standards, to suit our climate. The Germans, who have established vineyards on the Ohio, are already seeing the necessity of some change from the close planting and close pruning of the old country—and under our Southern sun, it will be still more necessary to deviate from their mode of culture. Before we can expect to make much progress, we must feel the absolute necessity of disentangling ourselves from old prejudices, and long-cherished methods which have been adopted elsewhere, and depend more upon our own observation. Our condition of soil and climate here, is totally different from that of Ohio and of Europe, and we must build upon our own experience.

It is by these modes only that our fruit culture can be best promoted; and with a view to this end I would appeal to the members of this Association, and to all others who are pursuing like objects, to use their efforts.

Let us not blindly adopt the experience of other regions, but seek out for ourselves those modifications in the natural laws of vegetable growth which are found to prevail in different latitudes, and adapt our practice in conformity with these laws.

Let us give aid and encouragement to those, who as pioneers in this work of improvement, are using all their efforts, and in course of time we shall have a selection suitable to our wants, and worthy of our rich Southern clime.

DEPARTMENT OF MISCELLANY.

1.—MILLEDGEVILLE, THE CAPITAL OF GEORGIA.

BY PROF. G. H. STUECKRATH.

IN addition to what I have said in my "Notes on Georgia," of December, 1858, respecting the city of Milledgeville, I find myself employed most pleasurably in again recurring to the same subject. Were there no other reasons for giving further description of this city, the fact of its being the capital "of the Empire State of the South," gives it sufficient importance to claim a place in the REVIEW. There are other reasons, however, which impress me with the necessity of again bringing this city to the kind notice of our readers.

The capital is situated on the west side of the Oconee River, distant 659 miles south-west of the Federal Capital, and 158 miles north-west of Savannah.

It was not incorporated as a city until the year 1836, but the legislature has held its sessions here since the year 1807.

The town of Louisville was formerly the seat of government, until its removal to this place.

The State house stands upon the highest point of an elevated plat, called the Capital Grounds, and is a solid-looking and fine Gothic edifice of brick, and stuccoed, with some degree of architectural skill, at a cost of about \$200,000. In it is contained the executive office, that of the secretary of state, treasurer, comptroller-general, and surveyor-general. In the same building is an extensive law library, containing the statutes and reports of all the States, and various other books.

The senate chamber is a room of about 60 feet square. The walls are adorned with the portraits of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Wm. H. Crawford, Ex-Governor George M. Troup, and Ex-Governor John Clark.

The most attractive pictures are the living ones, who adorn the gallery, a fair representation of the beautiful ladies of Georgia, who are listening with much attention to the debates of the senators on the floor.

The representative hall is larger than the senate chamber. Above and immediately in the rear of the speaker's chair is suspended the portrait of Ex-Governor James Jackson; on the right, that of Benjamin Franklin, and on the left, that of Marquis De Lafayette.

The capital grounds are covered with Bermuda grass, and enclosed with a neat wooden fence.

Not far from the capital stands the arsenal, an inferior brick building, and is going to decay from neglect.

The executive mansion is situated in the western portion of the city, built of brick, and stuccoed, at a cost of about \$80,000, together with the lot, and various repairs and improvements up to January, 1859.

The State penitentiary is also located in the western part of the city. The outer walls of the penitentiary are made of brick, averaging 20 feet in height, by 2½ feet in thickness, containing within the walls 2½ acres. The cells, or prison proper, are contained in a three-story granite building, 200x30. They are on each side, and divided into four wards. There is in the enclosure a two-story building, of brick, 40 feet square, in which are apartments for the sick female convicts.

The State lunatic asylum is about 1½ miles distant from the capitol, is built of brick, and stuccoed, at a cost of about \$325,000, and has a centre building 115 feet high, flanked on each side by wings 160 feet each, making an entire front of 480 feet. It is lighted by gas, has large refreshment rooms, billiard rooms, (donated by a man of Savannah), public parlors, &c., &c. Extent of ground at present belonging to the asylum is 1,250 acres.

Milledgeville is surrounded by a beautiful and once fertile country, and contains a number of handsome residences.

The Oconee River, above mentioned, furnishes excellent water-power here, and was once navigated below by small steamers, but these are now superseded by railroads. A branch railroad extends south to Gordon, on the Central Railroad, and another extends in the opposite direction to Eatonton.

A bill is pending in the Legislature, now in session, to extend the Eatonton Railroad to Madison on the Georgia Railroad. When this is completed, the capital will be, by railroad, almost in the centre of the State, as it is already geographically so. There is also a railroad contemplated direct from Milledgeville to the city of Augusta, by way of Sparta and Warrenton. I learn that the Georgia Railroad is negotiating at present for the survey of this latter road.

There is 1 Baptist, 1 Methodist, 1 Episcopalian, 1 Presbyterian, and 1 African Church, all supplied every Sabbath by able and faithful ministers, who frequently alternate with the able divines, who compose the faculty of Oglethorpe University.

There are no public schools of much note here. The private tutors and private schools have monopolized this department. These, with the educational advantages of Midway, furnish ample means for the acquirement of a first-class education.

There are two bank agencies here; one for the Planters' Bank, and the other for the Bank of Savannah. These, with the State treasury, furnish ample means to carry on the commerce of this place, which is by no means inconsiderable, there being about 200 bales of cotton per day sold here during the cotton season.

There are two daily (and during the session of the legislature) two weekly newspapers, the *Federal Union*, and the *Southern Recorder*, representing the democratic and the opposition parties. The editors are all gentlemanly scholars, true to the Union, and particularly to their native State.

Oglethorpe University, above mentioned, is in a flourishing state, and is rapidly growing in public favor. It is situated on a dry, elevated and healthy eminence, called the Midway Hill, one and a-half miles south of the capital, and is surrounded by a population of refined and excellent private families, with the most intelligent, elegant and queenly young ladies I had ever the pleasure to meet. And how could it be otherwise, when they daily mingle with young gentlemen, the representatives of the first families of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, &c., &c. The place is retired, and admirably situated for the seat of the Muses.

The faculty* of the college are men of high scientific and literary acquirements, courteous and gentlemanly in manners, liberal in sentiments, and enthusiastically devoted to their profession as instructors of youth. They have always a fine collection of students under their care. The organization of the institution is eminently suited to remove many of the objections offered against denominational colleges, as being limited in their sphere of action, restricted in their patronage, and low in their standard of scholarship. It is under the joint care of the three Presbyterian synods of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama; Georgia and Florida being embraced in one synod, so that the Presbyterian Church of the Southern States are united in its support.

The Board of Trustees are amongst the most eminent and enlightened men, lay and clerical, of those states; and the Presbyterians have always been celebrated for their liberal patronage of the cause of letters. The graduates of this college are taking rank among the most eminent in all the walks of life. One interesting feature of this college is the large number of teachers it sends out, sixteen from one late graduating class having devoted themselves to this useful employment.

The college has an endowment of \$90,000, much of which has been raised for the establishment of free scholarships, appropriated to the education of poor and promising youth.

2.—MONTGOMERY, THE CAPITAL OF ALABAMA.

Having revisited Montgomery, I am enabled to furnish some additional facts in relation to the early history of the capital, to those already given to our patrons in my sketch of February, 1859.

* FACULTY.—Rev. S. K. Talmage, D. D., president, and professor of ancient languages and belles lettres; Rev. C. W. Lane, A. M., South Carolina, professor of mathematics and astronomy; Rev. R. C. Smith, A. M., Alabama, professor of moral and mental philosophy; James Woodrow, Ph. D., Georgia and Florida, professor of chemistry, natural philosophy, geology and botany; S. L. Knox, A. B., tutor; C. W. Lane, librarian; James Woodrow, secretary.

In the early settlement of this State, the site of Montgomery attracted the attention of land speculators, being directly opposite the celebrated Big Bend, one of the most perfect and beautiful natural curves ever beheld, and circumventing a large body of fertile land. The site commanded a view of this bend, and of the Alabama river, several miles above and below; while it all consisted of a forest of heavy trees, interspersed with small ones, several persons resolved to appropriate it as a town.*

In July, 1817, at the land sales at Milledgeville, Georgia, Judge Andrew Dexter, an accomplished gentleman, a native of Boston, Mass., became the purchaser of a tract of land, a part of which is now incorporated, and embraces that portion of the city lying east of Court-street. About the same time a Georgia company, composed of John and William Taylor, and others, bought a tract of land, a portion of which is embraced in the corporate limits of the city, lying west of Court-street.

These different interests are laid off in lots for two distinct towns, that of Judge A. Dexter being called New Philadelphia, whilst the Georgia company gave to their town the name of East Alabama.

The streets, in diverging from the Artesian Basin, form acute angles, which is explained from the fact, that the Artesian Basin is upon the dividing lines of these two towns, which were laid off wholly independent of each other, and the position of the old court house was selected as a compromise of their rival interests.

Judge A. Dexter, in laying off his town, was deeply impressed with the conviction that the State capital would be located here, consequently he donated to the town the square upon which, twenty-seven years after, the capital was placed. During the same year that these towns were laid off, Gen. John Scott, Thomas Bibb, Esq., and Dr. — Manning, laid off a town on the bluff, about one mile west of the court-house, embracing the present plantation and brick yard of the late Mr. Jones J. Stewart.

The site was formerly the residence of a tribe of the Alabama Indians, and for over 150 years was occupied by them, the town being called "Econcharte," which means "red ground." It is now familiarly known by the citizens of Alabama as "Old Alabama town."

In September, 1817, Judge A. Dexter employed a Mr. Hall, as surveyor, to lay off the town, and sold at auction the first lots in New Philadelphia. The purchasers were, Jonathan C. Farley, Esq.; James Vickers, Esq.; J. G. Klinck, Esq.; Jevry Lofton, Esq.; John Falconer, Esq., and others.

Mr. Klinck employed a Mr. Bell to build him a cabin, and in showing him where, they found on the corner a post, or black oak, in the way of laying the ground sill, when Mr. K. immediately seized the axe and felled it, remarking to Mr. Bell: "This is the first tree—future ages will tell the tale." The house was built, and a well dug close by, at the junction of Market and Perry streets.

The business of locating a site for a court-house came, and commissioners were appointed for that purpose. Public opinion had given the court-house to New Philadelphia, whose citizens entered into a bond of \$20,000, payable to the commissioners, for the purpose of building a court-house and jail, if they would locate the buildings in the last-mentioned town, on the hill, where a public square had been laid off for the purpose. This bond was signed by Dexter, J. C. Farley, John Falconer, Harris & Carpenter, and J. G. Klinck, taking a mortgage of the lots around the square as an indemnity, in case the proposition had been acceded to by the commissioners.

From some cause or other (either prejudice or interest), Yankee Town, as

* Col. Thos. S. Woodward, of Louisiana, formerly of Alabama, visited the spot where Montgomery now stands, in April, 1814; it was then called "Chunnanugga-Chatty," or "the High Red Bluff." The first white man that built a house, in the latter part of 1815, or early in 1816, and lived in it at Montgomery, was Arthur Moore, Esq. The cabin stood up on the bluff, above what was once called the "ravine," and not far from where Gen. Scott put up a steam mill. The spot where the cabin stood, has gone into the river.

it was sometimes called, did not get the court-house, with all its offerings, but it was awarded to Alabama town. Up to the fall of 1819 no court-house had been built.

A log building, resembling an ordinary corn crib, was used as a jail. Justices' court was held in Judge Bibb's house; and the first circuit court was holden in Mrs. Moulton's house, by Judge Martin.

The first goods were opened by John Falconer, Esq., and James Eades, Esq. Mr. J. Falconer was the first post-master, and held this office for a number of years.

In this year Jonathan C. Farley, Esq., erected the first frame building, situated on the north side of Market, and west corner of Hull streets. Settlements now commenced, and buildings were going up in East Alabama and in Alabama town. Among the first settlers of East Alabama were Ebenezer D. Washburn, Esq., and Walter B. Lucas, Esq.

The spring of 1819 witnessed much improvement in both New-Philadelphia and East Alabama, each town growing towards the confines of each other.

In 1819, stocks of goods were exposed for sale by John Goldthwaite, Esq., Daniel Carpenter, Esq., Jonathan C. Farley, Esq., and by Messrs. J. G. Klinck & Dice.

The first resident physician was Dr. James Mitchell, late a resident of Autauga county, below Vernon; and Dr. Gullett and Dr. Morrow established themselves here the same year.

James Vickers, Esq., the same year erected a tavern in New-Philadelphia, being a log house, with two rooms, and a passage between, where travellers were entertained at three dollars per day!

Not long afterwards Col. C. Freeny put up a frame building for a hotel in East Alabama, long known as the "Old Bell Tavern," a part of which is still standing, and is opposite the Montgomery Mills.

N. E. Benson, Esq., Judge A. Dexter, and John Edmonson, Esq., were the first lawyers.

The seat of justice at this time was in Alabama town, or the ancient *Econ-charte*.

In the fall of 1819 the two towns, East Alabama and New-Philadelphia, resolved to unite. Much ill feeling had existed between the inhabitants of the two towns, and also between Alabama town, growing out of the claims of each to be the important place.

On the 3d of December, 1819, Governor Wm. W. Bibb approved the act of incorporation of the town of Montgomery, which embraced the two towns, New-Philadelphia and East Alabama, so that the names of these two rivals ceased forever after to exist. These rivals received the common name of Montgomery, in honor of the general of that name who fell at the storming of Quebec.

In 1817, two years before the county of Montgomery had been established—which at that time embraced several of the present surrounding counties—it received its name from Major Lemuel Purnell Montgomery, who fell in 1814 at the battle of the Horseshoe, which was fought upon the Tallapoosa river, within the limits of the present county of Tallapoosa.

On the 3d of January, 1820, an election was held at the house of Jonathan C. Farley, Esq., under the management of Andrew C. Dexter, Esq., and others, for intendant and councilmen. Sixty-one votes were polled.

In January, 1821, J. Battelle established a neat and well-executed newspaper, called the *Montgomery Republican*.

In May, 1821, the citizens of Montgomery were astonished by the rise of the Alabama river, which was never known before; the town of Cahawba, then the capital, was overflowed, and the bluff at the foot of Commerce-street, in Montgomery, was several feet under water.

The present population of the city is about 10,000, and, in intelligence and wealth, far above the average of Southern cities. In point of business it is not excelled by any city in the Union of the same population, and in every respect it is justly entitled to the quaint observation of an ex-governor of the State, "that it is the largest city of its size he ever saw."

The dry goods trade is very large, and indicates much taste and richness of dress in the community.

The grocery business is the chief, and furnishes supplies for a large portion of Alabama and western Georgia. The hardware trade, the drug, and clothing business are also large.

The receipts of cotton of last year was about 100,000 bales, and will probably exceed that amount for the present year.

The exchange business is remarkably extensive, the amount of banking capital being about \$1,250,000.

All of the prominent religious denominations of the country have each a large church, and some of them are remarkably fine structures.

There are here, we believe, no incorporate seminaries of learning, except one female institute, just established under the Presbyterian patronage; but there are here many good private schools, and two large female seminaries are soon to be founded; one under the patronage of the Episcopal, and the other of the Methodist Protestant Church.

The press is ably represented by several daily newspapers, the *Confederation*, *National Democrat*, the *Advertiser and Gazette*, *State Rights' Democrat*, and the *Montgomery Mail* (opposition), to the editors of which we are indebted for much courtesy.

There are here three large first-class hotels; the Exchange, under the charge of Messrs. Watt, Lanier & Co.; the Madison House, under the management of James Joby, Esq.; and the Montgomery Hall, under the superintendence of H. P. Watson, Esq., all of which seem to be constantly thronged, and give the traveler large ideas of Montgomery as a great thoroughfare.

The visitor can hardly fail to be struck with the great excellence of its buildings generally, and the magnificence of some of its private residences.

The inauguration ceremonies of the newly-elected governor, A. B. Moore, took place at the capital on Thursday, 1st of December, 1859, morning—a grand and imposing occasion, long to be remembered by those who were present. The weather, early in the day, seemed threatening and inauspicious; but as the sun approached the meridian, it became as pleasant and beautiful as could well be imagined. I am confident, I never before witnessed such an array of the beauty and fashion of Alabama, as assembled in the hall of the house of representatives on this occasion. The members of the general assembly politely invited the ladies to occupy their seats; and, instead “of the assembled wisdom,” the congregated beauty of the State was temporarily represented. For the time-being, radiant smiles and winning looks were substituted for boisterous appeals and parliamentary harangues to “Mr. Speaker!” and the spectacle presented was truly fairy-like and impressive.

The procession, under the control of Col. H. P. Watson, marshal of the day, moved from the Montgomery Hall about half-past eleven o'clock, A. M. The True Blues acted as the escort. They were followed in close proximity by the carriage, drawn by six almost snow-white horses, containing the governor elect, ex-governors Winston and Fitzpatrick, and Rev. Dr. Petrie. Next in the procession was the carriage in which was seated the committee of arrangements of the two houses of the legislature, and in rear carriages citizens generally. Upon arriving at the front portico of the capital, the column opened to the right and left, as far as the committee of arrangements, and the governor elect and ex-governors then moved to the representative hall, the procession closing after them. Upon entering the chamber, the governor elect, with the ex-governors, were conducted to the speaker's stand by the committee. Rev. Dr. Petrie then opened with prayer, in a spirited and impressive manner, the governor elect following him with the inaugural address, after which the oath of office was administered by the speaker of the house of representatives, Hon. A. B. Meek. The Rev. Dr. Petrie followed in a benediction, and the True Blues fired a State salute of nine guns, thus concluding the ceremonies, which were witnessed with the greatest pleasure and interest by the most intelligent, elegant and refined citizens of Alabama.

3.—PRINTING IN AMERICA.

The first printing-press in North America, as we learn from Coggeshall's *Newspaper Record*, was established at the city of Mexico, about the year 1600. The first press "worked" in the American colonies was "set up" at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1629. The Rev. Jesse Glover procured this press, by "contributions of friends of learning and religion" in Amsterdam and in England, but died on his passage to the new world. Stephen Day was the first printer. In honor of his pioneer position, government gave him a grant of three hundred acres of land.

Pennsylvania was the second colony to encourage printing. William Bradford came to Pennsylvania with William Penn, in 1686, and established a printing-press in Philadelphia. In 1692, Mr. Bradford was induced to establish a printing-press in New-York. He received £40 per annum, and the privilege of printing on his own account. Previous to this time, there had been no printing done in the province of New-York. His first issue in New-York was a proclamation, bearing the date of 1692.

It was nearly a century after a printing-press had been set up in New-England, before one would be tolerated in Virginia.

The southern colonists had no printing done among them till 1727.

There was a printing-press

At Cambridge, Massachusetts.....	1629
" Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.....	1686
" New-York, New-York.....	1692
" New-London, Connecticut.....	1709
" Annapolis, Maryland.....	1726
" Williamsburg, Virginia.....	1729
" Charleston, South Carolina.....	1730
" Newport, Rhode Island.....	1732
" Woodbridge, New-Jersey.....	1752
" Newbern, North Carolina.....	1755
" Portsmouth, New Hampshire.....	1756
" Savannah, Georgia.....	1762

The first printing-press established in the north-west territory, was worked by William Maxwell, at Cincinnati, in 1793. The first printing executed west of the Mississippi, was done at St. Louis, in 1808, by Jacob Hinkle.

There had been a printing-press in Kentucky, in 1786, and there was one in Tennessee, in 1793; in Michigan in 1809; in Mississippi in 1810. Louisiana had a press immediately after her possession by the United States.

Printing was done in Canada, before the separation of the American colonies from the mother country. Halifax had a press in 1751, and Quebec boasted of a printing-office in 1764.

In 1725 there were five newspapers printed in the United States; in 1755, there were thirty-four; in 1800, about two hundred; in 1825, about six hundred; in 1830, about one thousand; 1840, about one thousand four hundred; in 1850 about two thousand three hundred; and in 1860 there will be at least four thousand.

4.—LAKE SUPERIOR REGION.*

The climate of Lake Superior, and especially in the elevated range of the Keweenaw Point, is decidedly northern in its character. For the inhabitants of the southern States, the idea of five or six months of uninterrupted winter, with six feet of snow on the ground, is sufficient to create a sensation of the miseries of a Siberia. But the inhabitant of a northern latitude, on this as well as the European continent, will not be intimidated by the climate of Lake Superior, nor consider it at all unusual. It differs from that of the north of Germany, or the mountain regions of southern Germany, only by the winters being two or three weeks longer, uninterrupted, and of an even temperature, with a continuous cover of snow of several feet in depth, which begins to fall before the ground

* From the valuable report on the mines of Lake Superior. By Charles L. Fieschman.

freezes. The spring, summer, and fall are of about the same character in the countries under comparison. In the beginning of May, snow disappears in Keweenaw, and the ground not having been frozen, vegetation commences at once, and the birch, the maple, basswood, elm, and other sorts of hard wood which cover the trap formation, put forth immediately their beautiful foliage, and dress the hill-sides in the most delicate varieties of green. During the summer, the thermometer ranges sometimes at mid-day as high as ninety degrees of Fahrenheit, but the evenings are cool, and a woolen blanket is always comfortable during the night.

Oats, barley, potatoes, and all sorts of vegetables grow very well; the success of fruit trees has not yet been tried. I should think, when the sugar maple grows so vigorously as it does here, apples, pears, and plums must succeed also. I saw many wild grape vines along the shore of the Ontonagon river, which I have been told bear a small grape, resembling the chicken grape of the middle States; raspberries, cranberries, and strawberries, grow very abundantly in all parts of the wild forest. The wild rose and many other fine-scented flowers embellish the shores of the lake and rivers, and prove that the long winters are not injurious even to delicate vegetation.

However, the principal consideration of a climate for actual settlers is its influence upon the most precious blessing—health.

The best indication, and the surest guide to ascertain the truth in regard to such an important inquiry, is the appearance of the people, whether they are pale, thin, and fatigued, or rosy, stout, and vigorous. As there is no native population, my inquiries were directed to the working classes, who work below and above ground, exposed to the weather in all seasons. I found them looking well, apparently in good health, and vigorous. The Germans, as well as the immigrants from France, found the winter not in the least too cold, and all agreed as to the healthiness of the climate.

The numerous children which I met, looked the very image of health and animation, being never troubled with intense heat and sleepless nights, such as we experience for many months, in the middle States.

During my visit in the early part of this summer, when the thermometer reached nearly 100 degrees in the shade at Detroit, I found the thermometer at Keweenaw Point seldom much above 75 degrees of Fahrenheit; the atmosphere was dry and exceedingly bracing; the nights were cool and invigorating; and the purity and lightness of the atmosphere seemed to invigorate the whole system, to improve the appetite, and to affect the spirits in a similar pleasant manner. Many invalids from the southern portion of the Union come here to enjoy, during the summer months, the cool and delightful climate; and it is said that those afflicted with pulmonary complaints find here much relief, and delicate constitutions are at once restored by the refreshing breezes which come sweeping over the vast area of about 32,000 square miles of pure limpid water of this Mediterranean Sea of North America, modifying the extremes of temperature. The lake influences also the climate in winter; the temperature of its water seldom falls below 40 degrees Fahrenheit, and it never freezes in the middle; its shores only are encircled in ice for about ten or fifteen miles from the land.

During the winter months, the mining operations continue, and the farmer can clear land, and prepare wood for market, and haul it with sleighs easily to any point. Snow shoes facilitate travelling on the snow, which covers for months the whole country, and many of the old settlers consider it the most pleasant season. The temperature is remarkably constant, the atmosphere exceedingly pure and dry. From the beginning, or the 10th of November, until April, snow storms occur at intervals, and keep the snow very deep; the sky over the white mantle is of the purest azure blue, seldom cloudy, and never shrouded with fogs. The inhabitants enjoy perfect health; they are seldom troubled with coughs, colds, or disease of the lungs, diseases prevalent in the Eastern and Middle States, or in northern Europe. In short, it is an exceedingly healthy climate, especially suited for Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes.

I have seen rye which looks promising, and is the only winter crop that will succeed in the sandy regions.

Oats seem to grow well, and is extensively grown as feed for horses.

5.—INDIAN CORN—ITS PRODUCTS AND RESULTS.

The Cincinnati *Gazette* estimates the corn crop of 1859 at 900,000,000 bushels, valued at 40 cents a bushel, or \$360,000,000. It says:

"It is time that the Western people should know something of their own products and interests. In this year (1859) if it were not for Indian corn there would be almost a famine in the land. But that product is abundant, and enters into so many departments of food and convenience, that it stands in place of the deficiency in other crops. It fattens hogs, it fattens cattle, it enters into the food of man, and makes the basis of the profitable though dangerous commerce in domestic and manufactured liquors. In 1858, there were 700,000 hogs killed in Ohio, and in some form exported. It required 8,000,000 bushels of corn, besides other food, to fatten them. This corn made the pork, lard, lard-oil, candles, &c., which were exported from Cincinnati and other ports. Ten millions of bushels were made into whiskey. Two or three millions more made fat cattle; and thus the surplus corn of Ohio was manufactured into various forms of food, light, and liquor. In this there was the treble profit of the farmer, merchant, and manufacturer, all realized in one community. The fact that Cincinnati concentrates the results of this triple operation, is no small element in her prosperity. Twenty millions of dollars per annum will not cover the commercial operations of Cincinnati arising from the single article of Indian corn. To have a good crop—which in this region is generally the case—is of vast importance to this community.

The crop of this year, we have reason to believe, is abundant, but probably no greater, if as much, as in 1857. Taking several years together, the crops of corn in the Ohio valley States rapidly increase, especially so in the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, where the population increases rapidly. The crop of any one year must depend on a combination of the people to cultivate, the adaptation of soil, and the change of seasons. With the increase of people, the soils adapted to corn (and in these States it is more than half the whole surface) will be more and more cultivated. The quantity of acres planted will of course increase from year to year; but the average product per acre depends much upon the season. This is fully illustrated by the Ohio statistics of agriculture.

The following table of four years' cultivation of Indian corn in Ohio will exhibit the relation of surfaces and averages in the periods of large and small crops:

	Acres.	Crop. Bushels.	Average Bushels.
In 1850.....	1,537,947.	56,019,608.	35.8
In 1853.....	1,836,403.	73,436,090.	40
In 1855.....	2,205,282.	83,587,424.	39.7
In 1858.....	1,834,138	50,863,582.	28

From 1850 to 1855 the number of acres of corn planted, increased fifty per cent; in the extraordinary year of 1858 the number of acres planted decreased eighteen per cent., and the average per acre fell still more. The cause was climatic—arising from the single fact that the spring rains fell just a month later than usual, or were enormous in amount. No such course of events has occurred in Ohio for many years, if ever. The result was, that a great deal of land could not be planted, and as a great deal of corn planted could not be ripened, the crop was the smallest relatively we have ever had in Ohio. But that very crop demonstrated one thing of great importance, that the corn crop could not entirely fail without a miracle. In the worst year we have had, Ohio raised fifty millions of bushels. If we turn now to the crop of this year, we find that the planting season was a good one, and with the exception of the 4th of June frost, there has been nothing extraordinary to interfere with it. There has been neither drought nor heavy rains. The frost of the 4th of June did injure corn in some parts of Ohio, but to no great extent, especially as the great corn region is in the southern part of the State. We may therefore infer, as indeed all accounts agree in

stating, that in the main the corn crop of the Ohio Valley is a very good one. If we inquire what it amounts to, we have the means of calculating it very nearly. We have the population, which in some States, like Kentucky, has not increased as fast as in Ohio and Illinois. We have the crops of Ohio for a series of years, and we have the crops of 1840 and 1850 in all of them. Taking these data as a basis, we estimate the corn crop of six States (including Missouri) as follows :

Ohio, bushels.....	80,000,000
Illinois, bushels.....	75,000,000
Indiana, bushels.....	65,000,000
Kentucky, bushels.....	65,000,000
Missouri, bushels.....	60,000,000
Tennessee, bushels.....	60,000,000
Aggregate.....	405,000,000

Ohio has twice raised more than is set down above. Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, have increased rapidly in population. Tennessee and Kentucky are put down at only a small increase above their crops in 1850. On the whole the above estimate is by no means too large.

Of the four hundred millions of bushels of corn raised in these six States *two hundred millions will be a surplus* for the fattening of hogs and cattle, the manufacture of whiskey, and exportation to the Atlantic and foreign markets. The marketable price of articles made from corn, and corn exported (estimating in this case at New-York prices), will not be under *one hundred and fifty millions of dollars*. This is again the basis of a vast and profitable trade, carried on over railroads, lakes, and rivers, making a large portion of that magnificent internal commerce, which is at once cause and consequence of the more magnificent growth of this great central West.

It will be recollected that this is the surplus of one staple in these six States. Even in this region alone, comprehending but a seventh part of the surface of the United States, corn is of more importance than the entire cotton crop.

In the Ohio valley corn is the peculiar staple. In this region there is a very large extent of alluvial valleys and of limestone uplands, both peculiarly adapted to this plant, and a climate whose long summers permit its perfect ripening. Although corn grows over a very wide zone, it is by no means equally adapted or equally profitable throughout that zone. In New-York the average of corn is twenty bushels per acre, but in Ohio it is thirty-four bushels. It follows that while corn may be grown in New-York or Wisconsin, Florida or Texas, those are not the regions in which it is a profitable staple. The section whose axis is the Ohio river, is the centre of corn growth, where it will be both abundant and valuable. While this section is fitted for all the cereal crops, corn will long remain its main source of agricultural profit. The time is probably near in which all Europe will be obliged to receive corn, in grain as well as manufactured.

The present tendency of Europe—as it is in this country also—is to increase town populations while there are means of feeding them. London has more than two millions of people, Liverpool half a million, Paris a million, while such great manufacturing towns as Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow, Lyons, &c., contain millions more. These people must be fed, not merely with bread, but with meat. Wheat is too fluctuating a crop to depend on altogether, and even if it could be depended on for bread, where will they get meat, candles, lard, soap, oils, &c. England imports cattle from Holland and eggs from France. But France and Germany will soon have not enough for themselves unless the increase of the manufacturing population ceases. Indian corn is the great resource to answer the ultimate demand for food, and it is not improbable that we shall be called upon to supply that demand to an extent beyond anything we have anticipated.

6.—TENNESSEE.

Governor Harris, of Tennessee, delivered his annual message to the legislature on the 4th ult. He begins with a statement of the financial condition of the State. The total liabilities of every character are \$16,643,606. For the two years from October 1, 1857, to October 1, 1859, the receipts were \$1,884,590. Disbursements for all purposes during the same period, \$1,794,237, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$180,308. The liabilities of the State, \$12,799,000, are on account of turnpike roads, railroads, bonds, on account of the agricultural bureau, &c., under the head internal improvement companies. The actual indebtedness of the State is, \$3,844,606. The railroad companies have paid the interest on the State bonds promptly, at maturity. A large portion of the message is devoted to the banking system of the State, and he recommends that the legislature be empowered to amend or repeal a charter of a bank, whenever deemed expedient for the public good; that no bank be allowed to issue more than two dollars of paper for one of specie; that no bank be allowed to issue bills under twenty dollars; and that no branch bank be allowed to issue bills payable elsewhere than at its own counter; and that the stockholders be held individually liable. These are the main provisions of the amendments proposed. Congress having failed to accept the Hermitage, the governor recommends that the part reserved by the State be laid off in a square, so as to include the mansion, tomb of General Jackson, spring, and spring-houses, and extend out to the Nashville and Lebanon turnpike, which would probably embrace about one hundred and fifty acres.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

We are indebted to the extensive publication-house of D. Appleton & Co., New-York, for the following works, which have been issued within the last two or three months. They are all to be had at the store of J. C. Morgan & Co., Exchange alley, New-Orleans.

1. *The Tin Trumpet, or Heads and Tails for the Wise and Wagghish.*

The "Tin Trumpet," by the late Paul Chatfield, M. D., edited by Jefferson Sanders, Esq., was first published in London, in the year 1835. It was immediately republished in this country; but owing to the fact that much of its matter was of purely English, local, and temporary interest, referring to the political and religious squabbles of the times, the success of the work here was but temporary, and it has long been entirely out of print. It contained, however, a sufficient quantity of wit and wisdom, original and selected, to make its resurrection at this time appear desirable. The American editor, to whom was intrusted the office of preparing it for republication, has thought fit, while pruning the original of all that appeared superannuated and of no present and lasting interest, to embody with what remained such selections from his Common-place book, as appeared to him to come legitimately within the design of the author.

2. *Mary Stanton, or the Pupils of Marvel Hall.*

This is a new American novel, from a popular quarter, to wit: the author of "Portraits of my Married Friends." The scene opens at a New-York fashionable boarding-school for young ladies, and the characters are well drawn.

3. *A History of the Four Georges, kings of England.* By Samuel M. Smucker. L.L. D.

The work contains personal incidents in the lives of the Georges—the public events of their reign, and the biographies of the chief ministers, courtiers, and favorites. It is written in most excellent style, and is, no doubt, very reliable. The author has published other works, upon "Catherine II.," "Scenes in French History," "Life and Times of Alexander Hamilton," etc.

4. *The Roman Question.* By M. About.

This is a translation from the French, by H. C. Coape. The author studied the subject at Rome itself, where he remained for some time, and travelled extensively. He considers the Pope as a king—his temporal power, the condition of the Roman people, the nobles, the clergy—the education of the people, their material interests, finances, etc., and has made a most entertaining and instructive volume. We shall look into it more fully hereafter.

5. *Memoirs of the Empress Catherine II.*, written by herself; with a preface by A. Herzen,

This is another translation from the French, and contains a most admirable picture of Russia during the reign of the Empress. The memoirs were, for a long period, preserved by her successors, safely locked up, and open to the inspection of only a few persons. They have finally found their way into print. Says the translator:

"The early years of Catherine II. are here—of that woman-emperor, who occupied, for more than a quarter of a century, all contemporary minds, from Voltaire and Frederick II. to the Khan of the Crimea and the Chiefs of the Kirghis—her young days described by herself."

6. *The Exploits and Triumphs in Europe of Paul Morphy.*

This little work, prepared by Mr. Morphy's secretary, gives an interesting account of the movements of that distinguished chess champion, during his recent visit to Europe. It contains an historical account of clubs, biographical sketches of great players, notices of games, etc., and will be a very useful work to those who are pleased with the game.

7. *Chambers' Encyclopadia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People, on the Basis of the Latest Edition of the German Conversation Lexicon, illustrated by wood engravings and maps.*

This admirable work is being republished by the Appletons in parts. Each part contains about seventy large pages, and is sold separately for 15 cents. About eighty of them will complete the entire work, which will be one of the cheapest and most valuable ever offered to the American public. The first eight parts have been placed upon our table, and we shall continue to refer to them as they are received.

8. *History of France from the Earliest Times of 1858.* By the Rev. James White, author of the *Eighteen Christian Centuries*.

In his preface, the author says:

"This book makes an attempt to furnish a readable account of the country with which we are in closest neighborhood, and yet, of whose history the generalities of us know less than of that of almost any other kingdom. It aims at something higher than a mere epitome, for it founds itself on a great deal of various results more than abstracts. At the same time, it devotes sufficient space to any occurrence

which seems to have a general bearing on the progress or character of the nation. But it does not profess to be very minute in its record of trifling or unimportant occurrences, or philosophical in searching out the causes of obscure events."

9. *The Manufacture of Photogenic, or Hydro-Carbon Oils, from Coal and other Bituminous Substances, capable of supplying Burning Fluids.* By Thomas Antisell, M. D., of Georgetown College, D. C.

The author's position in the Patent Office, in charge of a portion of the Chemical department, has furnished him great facilities in the preparation of this work.

10. *Napoleonic Ideas.* Translated by James A. Dorr.

11. *Napoleon III., the Man of Prophecy; or, the Revival of the French Empire, Anticipated from the Necessity of Prophecy.* By G. S. Faber, B. D.

The latter of these little works is a very curious production, and certainly does make the most of the argument from St. John's Revelation, as they are supposed to refer to the several kingdoms of the earth—anient and modern. The first-named is well known as the production of the present emperor, when in exile, and was published at Brussels in 1839. In its preface he says:

"If the destiny which my birth presaged had not been changed by events, I, a nephew of the Emperor, should have been one of the defenders of his throne, and a propagator of his ideas; I should have enjoyed the glory of being a pillar of his edifice, or of dying in one of the squares of his guard, while fighting for France. The Emperor is no more! but his spirit still lives. Prevented from defending his shielding power with arms, I can at least attempt to defend his memory with the pen. To enlighten public opinion, by searching out the thought which presided over his high conceptions, to recall to mind his vast plans, is a task which yet smiles upon my heart, and consoles my exile. Fear of offending contrary opinions will not restrain me; ideas which are under the aegis of the greatest genius of modern times may be avowed without reserve; nor do they need to adapt themselves to the varying caprices of political atmosphere. Enemy of all absolute theories, and of all moral dependence, I have no engagement with any party, any sect, or any government. My voice is free—as my thought—and I love freedom!"

12. *Tent and Harem. Notes of an Oriental Trip.* By Caroline Paine.

The work furnishes a detailed and graphic account of Turkey and Arabia, the manners, customs, etc., of the people, their mode of life and institutions

the nature of the country, scenery, etc., and will furnish us the material of an article hereafter.

13. *Prairie Farming in America*, with Notes by the Way, on Canada and the United States.

The author, James Caird, is a member of the English Parliament, and has published many interesting works upon the agriculture of England and Ireland. He examined very closely our north-western field, and has, from his notebook, prepared a most useful volume. Every person interested in that quarter should procure a copy.

14. *Popular Tales from the Norse*. By George Webbe Dasent, with an introductory Essay on the Origin and Diffusion of Popular Tales.

Some fifty tales are included. They have been translated at different periods from the Norske Folkeeventyr, and are very wild and stirring, as might be expected from the source from which they emanate.

15. *A Natural Philosophy*. By G. P. Quackenboss.

This work is intended for schools, and the author is well known for his other educational productions. It embraces the most recent discoveries in the various branches of physics, and is adapted for use with or without apparatus. Illustrated.

16. *Leaves from an Actor's Note Book*, with Reminiscences and Chit Chat of the Green Room and the Stage, in England and America. By George Vandenhoff.

Those who are fond of light literature and of dramatic incident and the histrionic art, will no doubt find much to amuse them in these pages.

17. *Parties and their Principles*.—A Manual of political intelligence, exhibiting the origin, growth and character of national parties, with an appendix, containing valuable statistical and general information. By Arthur Holmes.

Such a work is indeed greatly needed in the country, and we shall hereafter have occasion to look into it very fully, and present some of its facts for the benefit of our readers. It is brought down to the present date.

18. *Elements of Military Art and Science*.—A course of instruction is here presented upon the military art—in strategy, fortification, the tactics of battles, &c., the duties of staff infantry and cavalry, artillery and engineers. It is adapted to the use of volunteers and militia. The second edition contains critical notes on the Mexican and Crimean war. By H. Wagner Halleck, A. M., Late Capt. of Engineers, U. S. A.

19. *The Philosophy of Common Life*.—By George Henry Lewes, author of *Seaside Studies*, &c., in two vols.

We have received vol. i., which contains "Hunger and Thirst," "Food and Drink," "Digestion and Indigestion," "The Structure and Uses of the Blood," "Respiration and Suffocation," &c.

20. *Poems by Anne Whitney*.

21. *Martha's Hooks and Eyes*.

22. *Boy's Own Toy Maker*, a Guide to the Useful Employment of Leisure Hours. By E. Laudell.

23. *Mary Lee*. By Kate Livermore.

24. *Boys' Book of Travel and Adventure*. By Meredith Jones—with illustrations.

25. *The New Night Caps*, told to Charley.

26. *Loss and Gain*, or Margaret's Home. By Alice B. Haven.

The last five-named are neat little books for children, issued in the best style of the Appletons, and are recommended to the attention of the small folks in city or country.

The following works are furnished us by the house of Harper & Brothers, New-York, through D. McGinnis and Morgan & Co., New-Orleans:

1. *The Queen of Hearts*. By Wilkie Collins.

This is a work of fiction, and is written with spirit. The author has previously committed to the press, the "Dead Secret," "After Dark," and several other works.

2. *Preachers and Preaching*, by Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D.

Dr. Murray is the author of "Kirkman's Letters to Bishop Hughes," and

he tells us in the preface of the present volume, that in a ministry of thirty years' continuance he has noticed the causes of the success, and of the failure of ministers, and the good and bad conduct of parishes and people toward them, and that the results are here stated for the instruction of all concerned.

3. *Women Artists in all Ages and Countries.*

Mrs. Ellet, who is known in the literary world as the author of the "Women of the American Revolution," again makes her appearance. She has relied very much upon Guhl's Sketches, published at Berlin, for her material, adding many details of personal history omitted by him, and bringing down the material to the present time. The record is, of course, very favorable in showing what woman has done and can do in the higher works of art.

4. *Fisher's River* (North Carolina) *Scenes and Characters.* By "Skitt," "who was raised there," illustrated by John McLennan.

The work contains many excellent stories and illustrations, and abounds in dry humor. Among the sketches are "Famous or No Famous," "Uncle Davy's Lane," "Dick Snow," "Uncle Billy Lewis," "John Senter," "Fighting," "The Convert," etc., etc.

5. *A Good Fight, and other Tales.* By Chas. Reade. With illustrations.

The stories of Charles Reade are generally popular, particularly so his "Love Me Little, Love Me Long," and "Peg Woffington," and we presume the above will not fall behind its predecessors.

6. *The Virginians.*—A Tale of the last Century, by Thackeray.

This is a very handsome edition, fully illustrated. The public are too familiar with the work, which has appeared in numbers, to require any endorsement to its claims. Suffice it to say, that no production of the day has been more widely read in the country, and there are few writers more popular among us.

7. *Stories of Rainbow and Lucky.*—By Jacob Abbott.

An agreeable little work for children, from a popular source.

A recent visit of the Editor, for several weeks, to South Carolina, admitted of re-union with many of the friends and companions of his earlier years, and left upon his mind impressions too agreeable to be willingly erased. He could not but contemplate, with just pride, the many evidences of prosperity which were presented in his native city of Charleston, and the existence still in its midst of that old spirit of hospitality, refinement, elevation, and intelligence, which has ever signalized her, and which presents so cheering a contrast to what is so often found in other quarters in these "improved times." He visited the grounds and building of the old college. Alas! that so excellent an institution, which has produced such precious fruits, should not have doubled or quadrupled its attendants. Precious memories of other days cluster around those old walls! He attended the Fair of the South Carolina Institute, which was creditable to the industry and taste of the old commonwealth, and was one of the delighted auditors of the brilliant address which was delivered by the Hon. A. P. Aldrich. This gentleman, with the finest graces of manner and intonations of voice, described the whole subject of our Southern relations, and though we could not but dissent from his conclusions in several particulars, and consider them heterodoxical, we yet agreed with him upon so many points, and discovered so much thought and ability in the production, that it was impossible not to offer him at his conclusion the most hearty congratulation. After the address, there was a very handsome entertainment spread out in one of the retired rooms of the building, where some of the managers extended the rites of hospitality and good cheer to the orator and a few other guests, whose hilarity extended into the smaller hours of the night. It was our fortune to be one of these. Toasts, speeches, and sentiments, "brimful of wit and humor" gave wings to the hours.

From Charleston we visited Barnwell District as the guest of the Hon. A. D. Allen, and shall never cease to be grateful for his kindness and hospitality. This gentleman is an active member of the Legislature of the State, and has received a very complimentary vote for the Executive chair. We accepted a

seat in his carriage to attend the meeting of the Savannah River Baptist Association, which brought together, as usual, a very large attendance from that portion of the State, and enabled us to shake by the hands not a few who are bound to our heart by the ties of consanguinity or friendship.—From the Association grounds we visited Lawlinville, Robertville, Coosawhatchie, Pocatigo, Beaufort, St. Helena, Edisto, and for the kindness and attention everywhere received would make grateful return.

The family seat of the Hon. John Townsend, on Edisto ("Bleak Hall"), is one of the most beautiful in the Southern country, and is embellished within and without by everything that could charm the eye. It constitutes a complete village in the highest state of improvement. His gardens, under charge of a Chinese gardener, cover many acres and abound in every rare and beautiful plant, and exhibit a degree of taste and skill seldom met with at our rural homes. We regret the inability at present to do justice to this charming abode. Suffice it that the proprietor is one of the highest toned and most estimable gentlemen in South Carolina, a skilful and wealthy planter, and an enterprising man, and that his hospitality is of the oldest and best school and knows no limit. Mr. Townsend has long and ably served his State, in the Senate. During last spring we united with him in Council at the Southern Convention. The time will come, and that before very long, we have no question, when the State will call him from his retreat to occupy, as he is well qualified to do, on so many accounts, her Executive chair.

Jehossee Island, the residence of the Hon. Wm. Aiken, so long a representative in Congress from South Carolina, was noticed by us several years ago very fully. Accepting the polite invitation of the proprietor, we visited it on this occasion, and spent several days delightfully. It is one of the most extensive estates in America, and is cultivated by six or seven hundred slaves. Mr. Aiken's long absence at the national Capitol, has not been favorable, it may be imagined, to the promotion of his

private fortunes, though he is still one of the wealthiest men in this State. We question if he can content himself with the quiet life of the country again, though he differs with us on that point, and it would not at all surprise us to hear one of these days that he had been called to some diplomatic position abroad of high grade which should be worthy of his character and capacities. We know of no more estimable and kindly-hearted gentleman in the country.

We have not space or time at the present moment to write out from our notes the sketch which we intend of Jehossee Island, and of the processes of *Rice Culture* and general administration which obtain upon it, and which will be very instructive to our readers.

In visiting Gov. Aikin, we passed over a large portion of the *Savannah and Charleston Railroad*, which is a very substantial work, in course of rapid construction, and will soon be completed in its entire length. To President Drayton's admirable administration, the State is indebted, mainly, we believe, for the success of this great work, which opens to daily communication with her metropolis, one of the most interesting and hitherto inaccessible regions.

NEW-ORLEANS, Dec. 20, 1859.

TO SUBSCRIBERS:

The Editor having returned to New-Orleans, after an absence of several months, has fixed his permanent office on Camp-street, No. 68, next door to the offices of the *Picayune* and *Crescent*, where he will be happy to receive such of the subscribers of the *REVIEW* as may visit the city during the coming year.

It is intended to make some changes and improvements in the conduct of the work, and a class of articles will be introduced which will be likely to interest every class of readers from the wider range of topics in literature and criticism to be embraced, the *hack-nied subject of slavery and its relations*

being restricted within proper limits. His own pen will once more be actively employed in every number of the work.

The REVIEW has now a very large circulation, but still requires the services of its friends in securing prompt remittance, and in extending its lists, which could readily be doubled with a little kindly aid from them. Nearly every subscriber might induce one new name. Surely, in the present exigencies of the South, the labors of this REVIEW cannot be less necessary than at previous periods, and in our general prosperity, the pittance which is asked from subscribers will not be denied.

A club of three new subscribers, at any office, will be supplied, on the receipt of \$10; or five, on the receipt of \$15. A few copies of the Industrial resources of the South—3 vols. remain on hand, price \$5.

Subscribers who will send their numbers to our office can have them bound on reasonable terms; and we will supply, when requested, all numbers that, during the last two years, have failed to come to hand.

The REVIEW contains from 120 to 180 printed pages monthly, exclusively of advertisements, which is more than at any previous period in its history.

Payments can be made by mail, at

the office, or through commission merchants and factors, in any of the towns or cities. We beg early attention from all.

See the advertisement, in this and the next number, of the *Judson Female Institute*, Marion, Alabama. It is largely patronized by all of the Southwestern States, and is now in the most successful operation, and deserves wide encouragement.

We are always glad to receive and publish Southern advertisements; but our people do not understand the value of advertising, and leave it all to be done by their shrewder neighbors of the North. Appeals to Southern merchants and manufacturers are in vain, upon any terms, while the North continues to crowd their favors. Our advertisements constitute the almost entire profits of the REVIEW, and without them, such are the expenses of the work, we should have to resort to some other calling. They do not, however, trench upon the limits which are allotted to its reading matter, and which have been enlarged rather than restricted.

The following pamphlets are received, and will be noticed in our next: "Fifth Annual Report of Registration in South Carolina," "Report of the Trustees of the University of Alabama," "Lectures on the Life and Labors of Laennec, by Dr. Flint," "Memorial of the Jackson Railroad to the Legislature of Miss.," "Catalogue of the Limestone Spring (S. C.) Female High School."